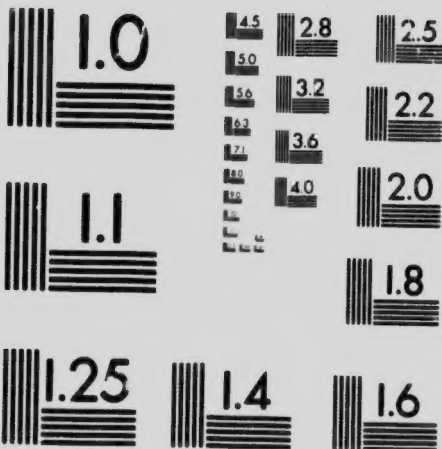




MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS
STANDARD REFERENCE MATERIAL 1010a
(ANSI and ISO TEST CHART No. 2)

MM5B
H11-2
cop. 2

The
Holy Communion
of the
Church of England

By
DYSON HAGUE, M.A.

With a Preface by
The Right Rev. E. A. KNOX, D.D.

LONDON:
The Church Door Book, 5, Victoria Street, S.W.

xy
30
x1

THE HOLY COMMUNION OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

PART I.—AN HISTORICAL STUDY.

PART II.—AN EXPOSITION.

BY

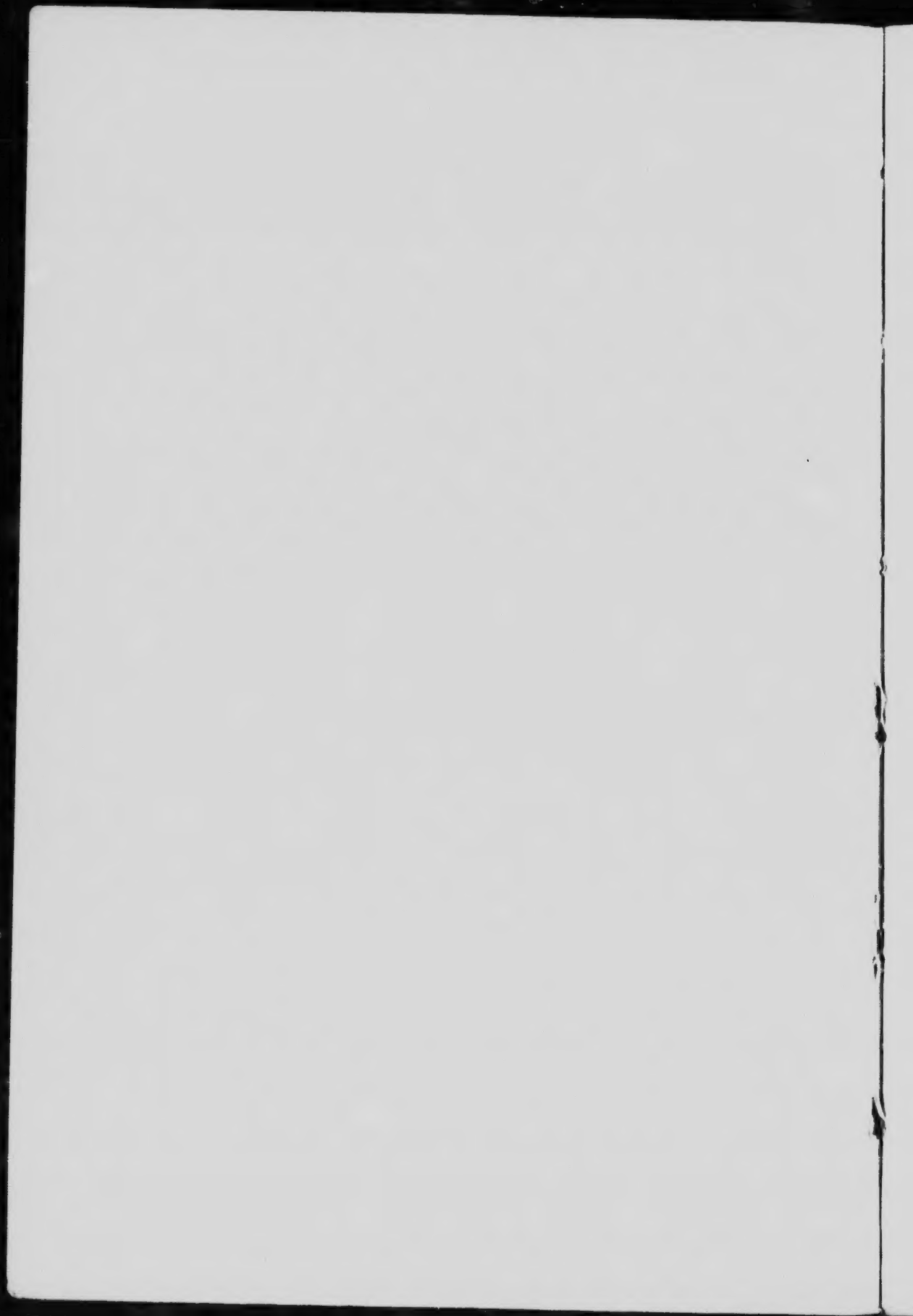
DYSON HAGUE, M.A.

Rector of the Church of the Epiphany, Toronto, Canada;
Lecturer in Liturgics and Ecclesiology, Wycliffe College;
Formerly Canon of St. Paul's Cathedral, London, Ontario, and
Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Huron.

With a Preface by

The Right Rev. E. A. KNOX, D.D.,
Sometime Bishop of Manchester.

LONDON :
THE CHURCH BOOK ROOM,
—82, VICTORIA STREET, S.W.1.—



PREFACE

THE great value of this book is due to the force with which the author expounds the doctrinal significance of our service of Holy Communion as contrasted with the Roman Catholic Mass. The importance of insisting on this difference at the present moment cannot be exaggerated. It is from the services and ritual of his Church that the ordinary layman forms his conception of doctrine. I speak of the ordinary layman: not of the careful and diligent Bible student: nor of the comparatively small proportion of laity who study theological works. Theology and doctrine reach the ordinary worshipper through forms of worship. Wycliffe's teaching remained the possession of a small minority, until Cranmer presented it—with developments no doubt, and variations—in the form of the Book of Common Prayer. Cyril Lucaris, Patriarch of Constantinople in the beginning of the 17th century, held and taught Calvinistic doctrine, but he conformed to the Liturgy of the Eastern Church and his teaching perished with him. Tractarian tenets never made any way in England until they were translated into ritualistic imitations of Rome. It is in this fact that the great importance of Prayer Book revision is to be found to-day. If the Church officially sanctions forms of worship which convey to the ordinary layman doctrines which he cannot distinguish from the Mass, if these doctrines come to him, not as extravagances of individualistic cranks, but as official Church teaching, it will be useless to say that Prayer Book revision did not affect doctrine. It will not be the meticulous distinctions of theologians that will reach the public mind: not these, but the great and broad difference between the offering of a Sacrifice and the administration of a Sacrament.

It has been truly said that "it is the heart that makes the theologian." Can a Hague's book will be found

to be no dry bones of metaphysical doctrine, but a book that comes from the heart and speaks to the heart. It is, in fact, a popular work, although based on a wide study of doctrinal literature. It is, of course, the misfortune of controversy that it is directed against error, which is, almost always, an exaggeration of a truth, exaggerated until it has ceased to be true. Canon Hague, in his disproof of what may be called the Levitical Priesthood, and Levitical doctrine of the Eucharist, has not thought it necessary to enlarge upon the *whole* doctrine of the Eucharist—its relation to the sacrifice of the Cross, or the various non-Levitical sacrifices, which it involves—sacrifices of almsgiving, of praise and thanksgiving, or the free-will offering of ourselves to God. Indeed in so short a work there was no room for a full exposition of all that our Blessed Lord left to us, when He instituted this holy rite. Canon Hague has restricted himself mainly to one point, and has enforced it with vigour and convincing reasoning. His book should be of special value at this critical moment in the history of our Church.

E. A. KNOX,

Bishop.

SHORTLANDS.

FOREWORD

IN view of the efforts now being made to revive the use of the word "Mass" as a definition of the Holy Communion in the Church of England, and of the statements made that "the Mass simply stands for the service that is celebrated in the Church of England," and that "when the Bishop of London celebrates the Holy Communion in St. Paul's Cathedral and the Bishop of Rome says Mass in St. Peter's in Rome, they are both doing identically the same thing." It is well for English Churchmen to recall the teaching of our Church in the 15th Homily referred to in Article XXXV: "But, before all other things, this we must be sure of specially, that this Supper be in such wise done and ministered as our Lord and Saviour did, and commanded to be done, as His holy Apostles used it We must then take heed, lest, of the memory, it be made a Sacrifice. . . . What hath been the cause of this gross idolatry, but the ignorance hereof? What hath been the cause of this mummish massing, but the ignorance hereof? Let us, therefore, so travail to understand the Lord's Supper, that we be no cause of the decay of God's worship, of no idolatry, of no dumb massing." (*Homilies and Canons*, S.P.C.K., pp. 474-475.)

Some years ago a leading English writer penned a sentence worthy of being pondered by all thoughtful Churchmen to-day: "It is possible without forsaking Protestantism, to indulge in certain Romish practices which, whether they are wise or foolish as parts of that great religious institution *to which they properly belong*, are childish and grotesque when observed by the adherents of a spiritual system of an altogether different type and genius." (*Dale on Hebrews*, p. 279.)

These words seem to express precisely the real problem of the Holy Communion in the present crisis of the Church of England. The ritual accessories, the bowings and crossings and censings and vestments of an elaborate "Eucharist," "properly belong," as far as the order of the Service goes, to the Mass of the Roman Catholic and Eastern Churches. *It is all there!* It is *taught there!* It is *provided for* in Rubrics! The ritual arrangements, and vestments, and postures *are authorized and prescribed parts* of those services. But in the Order for the Administration of the Lord's Supper or the Holy Communion in the Church of England there is no such provision. *It is not there.* It is not there by prescription or inference. And the object of this brief work is to show how, in the course of history, the original Lord's Supper became the Mass of the Roman Catholic Church; and how, by a series of events, providential and wonderful, the Mass of the Anglo-Roman Church before the Reformation became the Lord's Supper or the Holy Communion of the Church of England; and to explain the real meaning of the Communion Service as it is found in our Prayer Book to-day.

The study is divided into two parts :—

I.—Historical : How did the Lord's Supper become the Roman Catholic Mass and how did the Roman Catholic Mass become the Holy Communion or Lord's Supper of the Church of England ?

II.—Expository : What is the real significance of the Church of England Communion Service viewed as a whole and studied in the light of the aims and intentions of those who compiled and revised it ?

THE HOLY COMMUNION OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

PART I.—AN HISTORICAL STUDY.

THE storm centre of the Church of England at the time of the Reformation was, as all Churchmen know, that service which is called the Mass. For centuries before the Reformation the Mass was practically the only service attended every week by the laity of the Church of England. And yet the first doubts that crept into the minds of the men who were being illumined by the light of the Holy Spirit through the Holy Scripture were doubts with regard to the scripturalness and validity of the Service to which they were most accustomed.

Strype, in his "Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer," states that almost the last thing King Henry VIII. was concerned in was that the Archbishop "pen a form for the alteration of the Mass into a Communion" (1-198). Whether Strype's statement is correct or not, and it has been questioned, there can be no doubt that it contains in a nutshell a summary of the greatest doctrinal and liturgical epoch in the history of the Church of England.

Within three years from the death of Henry VIII. the Mass disappeared, and the Lord's Supper became for the Church of England, the Holy Communion. And from that day to this throughout the Empire millions and millions of devout and earnest souls in every quarter of the world have received the "holy mysteries," as "pledges of his love," in the form that is provided in the Prayer Book, by The Order for the Administration of the Lord's Supper, or Holy Communion.

Two
QUESTIONS. Now there are two questions of profound interest to all Anglican churchmen. The first is this. *How was it*, in the first place, in the early history of the Church, *that the Lord's Supper ever became the Mass?* By what strange and devious steps did that simple service instituted by the Saviour in the Upper Room become transformed into a service of so entirely different a character? The second is: *How was it that the Mass became again the Lord's Supper?* How was it that that service which, for practically a thousand years, had reigned supreme in the Church of England as the Roman Mass disappeared, and the Lord's Supper was re-established in its place as the Holy Communion in every Church in England.

The study presents many difficulties. It is a study that covers eras of Church History that are beyond all others involved in obscurity. It involves developments of doctrine and ritual that are incapable of exact historical, chronological and theological definition. It presents also many involved questions of interpretation into which it would be impossible for us to enter. In fact, our present object is rather to present the subject in a broader outline, so that the reader may see and grasp clearly certain great phases of development in regard to the history of the Holy Communion and, through a review of these, see how ideas that were entirely alien to the original ideal worked like a leaven till the whole was leavened.

Suppose we take two dates. For the sake of illustration, let us take 50 A.D. and 1000 A.D. Exercise, for a moment, the historic imagination and think of the different aspects of the Holy Communion, doctrinally

and ceremonially, in those two periods. In the one there is a simple Supper. It is marked by the distinguishing features of communion, confederation, commemoration. It is in the evening. There is no fasting. It is a brotherhood feast. There is no ritual ; no priest, no altar, no sacrifice. In the other, there is a Sacrifice ; in the centre is an Altar, with its ritual splendour, and its sacrificial priest. Its object is, in effect, the repetition of the Sacrifice of Calvary, and there is the profound belief that the Bread, after the Invocation of the Holy Ghost by the priest, has become the Body of Christ and is offered as a Real Sacrifice to God by a priest before adoring worshippers. Or, to take another instance. Contrast the Mass Service in use in the English Church in the year 1547, with the service called the Order of the Administration of the Lord's Supper, or Holy Communion, in use in the English Church in 1552. The one, in 1547, was the Sarum Use, or the Service of the Church of Rome in England ; identical, save for a few minor details with that now celebrated in every Church of Rome. The other, in 1552, was the Communion Service identical in almost every respect, save for a sentence or two and a few non-essential rubrical additions, with the Order of the Holy Communion in our Prayer Book to-day. It will be seen almost at a glance what is meant by this great transformation.

Now let us glance at the historical development of the Lord's Supper from the very beginning, that we may learn what it was originally. Professor Kennett, the Cambridge Professor of Hebrew, recently writing on the subject of the Last Supper, said very significantly, " it is somewhat strange that the Institution of the Holy Communion as it is recorded in the New

Testament is, in general, comparatively ignored." It is indeed strange. And it is surely the duty of every intelligent Christian to make the New Testament record the starting point and regulating standard of all earnest study. Without that the whole subject will be confused in the mazes of ecclesiastical misinterpretation. We shall see that the service, in the course of its evolution or devolution has passed through three great stages.

1.—*Institution* : The service, as instituted by our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and as continued by the Church in the days of the Apostles, was the Lord's Supper. It was called by St. Paul the Lord's Supper, I. Cor. xi., 20, and (possibly) the Communion, I. Cor. x, 16, and sometimes the Breaking of Bread, Acts ii, 42 ; xx, 7. It was not the Mass either in name, or form, or substance, or doctrine, or ritual.

2.—*Substitution* : During the sub-apostolic, primitive, and post-Nicene eras, say from 150 to 500 A.D., the ordinance underwent a subtle and definite transformation. By the fourth or fifth century it was changed, in more or less rudimentary fashion, into that form of service which afterwards became in its full development the Mass of medievalism and the Roman Church. It was called the Mass as early as 380 A.D. It was the Mass, and, in its essentials, identical with the Mass Service that was the supreme service in the English Church for many centuries before the Reformation.

3.—*Restitution* : During the course of many years of definite preparation a movement was growing in

England which resulted within the brief space of five years, 1548-1552, in :

- (1) The complete abandonment of the Mass ;
- (2) The complete substitution for it of the restored service of the Lord's Supper.

After being used for one thousand years, if not more, the Mass was displaced in the Church of England, and the Lord's Supper again took its place as the Communion Service of the Church of England according to God's Word. As Cranmer said, the Communion which was secured for the Church of England was conformable to the order which our Saviour Christ did both observe and command to be observed, and which His Apostles and His Primitive Church used many years. (Strype's Cranmer, i., 437-438.) The claim of the Church of England now is : our Communion Service was the *restoration* of the service of the Lord's Supper according to the order of Christ and His Apostles.

Our first object then will be to trace these steps of transition ; to note some of the master minds who were the prime movers thereof ; and to suggest some of the more salient reasons for the various stages of progression and retrogression.

I.—THE INSTITUTION.

Now let us, to start from the right
THE starting point, open the pages of the New
STARTING Testament in order that we may see
POINT. exactly what the institution of the Lord's
Supper was in its original form. Let
us, with the open Gospel in our mind, approach in

imagination the door of the Upper Chamber on the eve of the first Good Friday and see the Saviour and His disciples gathered together for the last time at the Passover Feast and for the first time in His own sacred Communion Service. What do we see? We see these men gathered together in a sacred fellowship. They participate in a fraternal feast. They join together in a fellowship, as brothers loyal to death to their Saviour-Lord and Master, who is abrogating and displacing the Hebrew Passover and inaugurating a New Feast, as a continuous Memorial, from age to age, till He return, of His death as their Substitute, their Sin-Bearer, and their Sacrifice.

The record of the Lord's Supper is
THE contained: (1) In Matthew xxvi., 26-30;
ORIGINAL (2) In Mark xiv., 22-26; (3) in Luke xxii.,
RECORD. 19-26; (4) in I. Cor. xi., 23-26. The
account of St. Paul was probably the
first that was committed to writing, and it must be
remembered that the Apostle distinctly states that
he received it neither by tradition nor by apostolic
narration. He got it straight from the Lord Himself.
The "*from the Lord*" in I. Cor. xi., 23, is emphatic.
From these four accounts carefully read we gather
these things:

- (1) That, as far as *the name* is concerned, its name was pre-eminently the Lord's Supper (I. Cor. xi., 20).
- (2) *The object* of the service was Communion, I. Cor. x., 16). The service itself is perhaps not described by that name; but Communion, from the Pauline teaching, was unquestionably one of its chief characteristics.

- (3) *The thing* on which or at which it was partaken was a table. It is specifically designated as *the Lord's Table* (I. Cor. x., 21). The word used was the ordinary word in those days for a table at which people used to eat at a meal or feast.
- (4) *The elements* were bread and wine. These were taken, and broken, and poured out, and distributed, and eaten and drunk, with thanksgiving and praise to God (Matt. xxvi., 26, Mark xiv., 22, Luke xxii., 19, I. Cor. xi., 23).
- (5) As far as *the Lord Himself*, the Master of the Feast, is concerned, the prominent elements of the service were blessing, thanksgiving, instruction, and distribution.
- (6) As far as *the Disciples* were concerned: participation, commemoration, and, after His ascension, proclamation of the Lord's death till His return.

To summarize. The first Lord's Supper was in the evening. It was not taken fasting. That is explicit. Matt. xxvi., 26:—"As they were eating Jesus took bread." It is clear that the disciples were not in a fasting condition that night, nor is there any evidence in the New Testament for any such practice, much less any injunction of it, as fasting Communion. The disciples gathered at a table which is denominated the Table of the Lord; not at an altar (I. Cor. x., 21). There was no trace of anything like altar sacrifice, nor of any offering by a vested priest upon an altar. Further, in instituting His Supper, our Lord took bread, *not a lamb*. Nor is there any trace of anything like

adoration (or altar-worship). Nor of the bread not being bread, or of its being turned into something else than bread.* Nor is there indication in any shape whatever of any altar ritual either as regards vestment, or posture, or gesture.

In view of later developments it is a matter of no small interest for us to know that the Early Church determined to carry out as fully as possible the Lord's injunction to do what was done at the Last Supper. The Apostles and disciples met each Sunday evening and re-enacted, so far as was possible, the whole of the Last Supper. There was no lamb eaten because the type represented by the lamb was fulfilled, and as the use of unleavened bread was only the accidental effect of the Last Supper having fallen on the days of Unleavened Bread it was not continued. But all the faithful of the neighbourhood assembled, the richer members of the community supplied provisions, and the Master's Last Supper was, with the necessary

* The phrase "This is my body" means, "represents my body." There is neither in the teaching of our Lord nor in the attitude of His Apostles anything that could in any way countenance the idea of any change of any kind whatsoever in the bread. The word "is" does not and cannot mean "becomes." It is well known that the Paschal formula pronounced by the Head of the Feast as he broke the bread was "This is the bread of affliction which our fathers ate when they came out of Egypt." The very thought of the bread that the father held in his hand being transformed into or becoming the original bread of affliction would be foreign to Hebrew thinking. If the words "This is my body" refer to identification of substance, either by way of consubstantiation or transubstantiation, then the same must be true of the cup, for the very same word is used. "This cup is the new testament in my blood" (Luke xx., 20). It is clearly metaphorical language, a simile of representation. Just as we say "This is a pound" when, as far as substance is concerned, it is merely a piece of paper; or "This is my father," "This is my mother," as we look at a portrait. (See *Jacobs Ecc. Pol. of the N.T.*, Ch. vii., pp. 296-314.)

changes, re-enacted. Towards the end of the meal, at the same time in it that the Lord had instituted His Memorial, bread and wine were placed before the presiding presbyter and solemnly blessed by him as the symbols of the Body and Blood of their departed Lord, and partaken by all in solemn silence as a memorial of Him. Then the meal continued, and at the end of it, thanksgiving for the whole was offered and psalms or hymns were sung.

This was the form of the Administration of the Holy Communion down to apparently the year 110 A.D., when, owing to the prohibition, by Trajan's orders, of evening meetings, the celebration of the Holy Communion was transferred to the forenoon and the meal to mid-day.—(Meyrick's "Scriptural and Catholic Truth and Worship," p. 22.)

THE
OBJECT

As far as the purpose of the Institution was concerned, it is obvious that the Lord's Supper, as recorded in the New Testament, was primarily a witness to and a remembrance and announcement of the Lord's atoning death. (I. Cor. xi., 24-25). It was to be an everlasting memorial of Him as the Crucified; and a perpetual witness to Him as the Coming Lord (I. Cor., xi., 26). In one word. The New Testament survey in its entirety presents to the careful reader the picture of a Supper or a Memorial Feast, in which the chief elements are Commemoration, Confederation, Communion, and Annunciation. It was instituted to enable the Lord's children, in the interval between His Ascension and His Second Advent, to remember His Death, in a communion-covenant-feast, and thus announce or set forth and proclaim

His atoning death *until* His coming again.* The whole matter is finely and fairly summarized in the theological statement of our Church Catechism in the question: "Why was the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper ordained?" The answer is remarkable. It stands like a crystal monument to the clearness of our Church's Sacramental teaching. It does not say with the Church of Rome, "For the continual *re-offering*, or *repetition* or *re-presentation* of the offering of the death of Christ." No! But "For the continual remembrance of the sacrifice of the death of Christ, and of the benefits we receive thereby." In the Communion Service, and especially in the Exhortations, there is that Scriptural balance of truth, with its emphasis of the two great features, Commemoration and Communion, that so pre-eminently characterise our Church's position.

II.—THE SUBSTITUTION.

As we go down the pathway of history
 THE we see that, little by little, the Church
 FIRST departed from the original idea of the
 DEPARTURES. Lord's Supper as a Communion. Little
 by little, there was developed another
 ideal of the service. In its initial stages it was simple
 enough. Then, step by step of subtle and almost
 unconscious, unintentional digression, the Lord's Supper

* The words "Ye do shew the Lord's death" have been the subject of much controversy. The word in the Greek is "katangellete." It means literally to announce or to set forth good news, or any proclamation of joyous or solemn meaning. To katangelize His Death is, therefore, to announce evangelically, or publicly set forth, its glorious meaning. It is generally admitted by scholars that the word cannot mean to exhibit before God; much less to plead or present or represent, before God, Christ's death. (See *A Sacrament of Our Redemption*, by Griffith Thomas, and especially pages 23-26.)

gradually became that complex service of strange and suggestive ceremonial that attained its climax in the Roman Mass. The line of development was in one definite direction. Century after century, the streams of tendency converged to one end ; to make the Eucharist the central and the supreme service of the Christian Church. As far as the laity were concerned, it was practically from a very early date the only service attended by the generality of worshippers. From the fourth century onward, if not earlier, the Communion Service, known then largely as the Eucharist, became the sun and centre of Christian worship. It had the supreme place of honour. The other services became altogether subsidiary and secondary.

As time went by, the central part of this central service became the offering of sacrifice. The idea of communion was slowly but surely receding into distance. An entirely new theory was absorbing the mind of Christendom. Within three, or certainly four, centuries from the death of Christ the idea of a Communion Supper, which was primary and fundamental in the Lord's institution, became subsidiary, and non-essential ; and the idea of sacrifice, which was utterly wanting in the original service, became primary, fundamental, and supreme.

HOW DID THE CHANGE COME ABOUT ?	The natural question is therefore : How did it all come about ? How was it possible in such a brief period of the Church's history for such a transformation to take place ?
--	---

It arose apparently in a very simple way. It started from very small and apparently harmless beginnings.

For instance, it was customary from a fairly early date to separate the baptized and non-baptized Christians, and then to dismiss the latter before the Holy Communion. For probably very simple reasons also, it became customary to shut and guard the doors. And so the idea grew that there was a certain mystery attached to the Lord's Supper, an idea that tended to develop with great rapidity in an age accustomed to exaggerate the mystic.

During the second and third centuries this idea took deeper root on account of the gradually developed theory of the mystical connection between the bread and wine and the Body and Blood of Christ. Without any caution of spiritual explanation, the symbolic expressions of John vi., 53-56, with regard to eating His flesh and drinking His blood, which our Lord most specifically said were *not* to be taken with literalism (John vi., 63—"It is the spirit that quickeneth: *the flesh profiteth nothing*: the words that I speak unto you, they are spirit, and they are life," that is, understood spiritually, they are life) were applied by writer after writer to the Lord's Supper in terms of almost mechanical materialism. Irenaeus says that the bread, in the Communion Service, when it receives the Invocation of God, or the Word of God, is no longer bread but the Eucharist, and that when the mingled cup and the made bread receive the Word of God they become the Eucharist of the body and blood of Christ, and consist of two elements, an earthly, plus a heavenly! Irenaeus may have used the terms innocently enough. But one can see peering in, and lurking dimly, and looming up vaguely, dangerous and strange expressions. We may charitably say: They are only hints! They are only suggestions! Yes. Possibly. But they unquestion-

ably show the growth of the view that the elements in the Communion are made to be, by the Invocation or the Epiclesis in the consecration act, *something that they were not before*. They seem to disclose *the roots* of a doctrine which before long, in the mystic language of Cyril, and the unambiguous language of Cyprian and Ambrose, became something which approached the transubstantiation theory of the Medieval Church.

Along with this more mystical development was another of perhaps far deeper DANGEROUS and more dangerous tendency. It was THEORY. really the secret of all the departure. It was found almost as far back as the days of Clement of Rome. It was this : That the Jewish system of priest and sacrifice in some subtle way, mystic or spiritual, was to furnish patterns for the Christian Church to follow. Of that idea, in the New Testament, it can be confidently stated there is not a trace. A study of the Gospels and Epistles fails to reveal a single trace of the institution of any priestly or sacerdotal ministry. St. Paul used ten different names to describe the Christian ministry, but the one name he never gave is the word "priest." There is no trace in Scripture of any sacerdotal sacrifice as an element of the Lord's Supper. As Farrar said : "There is not one syllable in the New Testament to sanction it, and everything to exclude it."

The duties and privileges of the Christian Ministry are clearly set forth in Ephesians iv., 11-15 (R.V.), "And He gave some to be apostles and some prophets, and some evangelists, and some pastors and teachers, for the perfecting of the saints, unto the work of ministering unto the building-up of the body of Christ " ("ye

are the Body of Christ ") till we all attain unto the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a full grown man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ ; that we may be no longer children, tossed to and fro and carried about with every wind of doctrine, by the sleight of men, in craftiness, after the wiles of error ; but speaking truth in love, may grow up in all things into Him, which is the head, even Christ." The only sacrifice demanded of Christians is the sacrifice of themselves. " I beseech you therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God, to present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable to God, which is your reasonable service " (Rom. xii., 1).

But from the middle of the second century that idea grew and spread with extraordinary rapidity and in proportion as it grew the ministry became the clergy, or a kind of separated class. Then the clergy became the priesthood, a sacerdotal order. The idea of sacrifice logically followed. When once the theory took root that the presbyter was a sacerdos, a sacrificing priest, it was only natural that he should have somewhat to offer (Heb. viii., 3-4)* And so it came to pass that the

* In that very remarkable work *The Priesthood of the New Covenant*, Mr. Werner H. K. Soames shows that the Epistle to the Hebrews finally destroys the argument of any analogy between the New Testament presbyter and the Old Testament priest. " No comparison is ever drawn in Scripture between the priests of the Old Covenant and the priests of the New, but between the MANY priests of the Old Covenant and THE PRIEST of the New." " The Old Covenant priesthood and the New Covenant priesthood are often compared, but the comparison almost always points out this fundamental *difference* between them, that, whereas the OLD Covenant " priesthood " consists of MANY priests, the NEW Covenant " priesthood " consists of ONE great priest ONLY." " At the celebration and eating of the Paschal Supper no Levitical priest (sacerdos) was present (i.e., one was not required), or was present at the institution of the Lord's Supper. The HEAD of the family used to preside and officiate."

Eucharist as a service became more and more regarded in the light of a sacrifice. At first, of course, it was only a "spiritual sacrifice." It was only a "symbolical sacrifice." But still it was a sacrifice.*

THE CARDINAL ERROR. How the changes came to pass will probably never exactly be traced. But there can be no doubt that from that time on the oblations of the Old Testament, unbloody and commemorative, were seized upon as the prophetical foreshadowing of a new oblation in the New Testament, and that the Lord's Supper was actually deemed to be a *re*-presentation and a *re*-enactment of the awful Sacrifice of the Son of God on Calvary's Cross. The bread and wine which were originally the gifts of the people, offered to the priest, *for* the Lord's Supper, were now to be offered by the priest, *for* the people, *in* the Lord's Supper! The consecration prayer has become the prayer of sacrifice! The bread has become by the Invocation, the Body of Christ. It was the oblation offered to God of the Sacrifice of Christ. "The passion of Christ (that is, the sacrificial suffering) is what we offer to God,"

* It has been frequently asserted that the sacrificial terms used by St. Paul in Rom. xv. and xvi., where he speaks of himself as the minister of Jesus Christ doing the sacrificial work of God's Gospel, that the offering of the Gentiles may be acceptable, and of the consecration and service of Christians as sacrifice (Rom. xii., 1, and Phil. ii., 17), and of the offering of the sacrifice of praise (the Greek word used being that which is the basis of the liturgical expression "anaphora"), distinctly teach and authorize the idea of the sacrifice of the altar in Christian worship and the office of sacrificer in the Christian priest. But it must be evident that there is not the slightest hint in the Rom. xv.-xvi. passage of anything like sacerdotal teaching and that the whole expression is used metaphorically as it is in Rom. xii., 1. Never does the Apostle or any New Testament writer hint at the Holy Communion as a sacrifice, a sacrificial offering, nor is there the slightest trace of anything like altar worship or the suggestion that the minister is a sacrificing priest.

said Cyprian. "The Eucharist is the holy and awful Sacrifice, the Sacrifice of propitiation," said Cyril of Jerusalem. "We offer Christ the sacrifice for our sins, while we propitiate the living God on behalf of the living and the dead." "You see the Lord sacrificed and lying before you and the priest standing over the sacrifice and praying," said Chrysostom.

But the student of history will, of CYPRIAN, course, remember that the name of THE PRIME Cyprian, the famous Bishop of Carthage, SACER- about 250 A.D., is the name that really DOTALIST. marks the water-shed of Church history.

Cyprian was, essentially, the sacerdotalist of the Neo-Catholic of the third century. He was the pioneer, the daring pioneer, of Christian priesthood. He rushed in where even his master, the great Tertullian, feared to tread. He boldly transferred into the domain of Christianity the theories and terms of Judaism. To him the Communion Table is *the Altar*. The Lord's Supper is *the Sacrifice*. The bread is the *Host*. The elements are *offered* upon the altar. The Christian minister is no longer a mere presbyter; he is the priest, the sacerdos. The twentieth century sacerdotalist, Roman or Anglican, can find almost everything he wants in Cyprian, except the Papal Supremacy. He declared that the bishop, the summus sacerdos, sits in the sacerdotal chair; that he makes priests by the will of God; that priestly authority and power comes from the bishop, the successor of Peter. Priestly unity takes its source from Rome; the priest assists at the altar of God; the priest offers in the Church a full and true sacrifice. The priest functions in the very place of Christ. (*Sacerdos vice Christi vere fungitur.*) These and a hundred like expressions abound in his writings.

We can see by this time that the Church had departed very far indeed from the simplicity which is in Christ ("I fear," said St. Paul, "lest by any means, as the serpent beguiled Eve through his subtilty, so your minds should be corrupted from the simplicity that is in Christ.—II. Cor. xi., 3), and that the plain teaching of Scripture ("We are sanctified through the offering of the Body of Christ once for all"—Heb. x., 10), and that "there is no more offering for sin" (Heb. x., 14) was ignored and forgotten.

THE GREAT
CHANGE.

After Cyprian's day a very decided change came over the spirit of the Church in doctrine and ritual. The progress was extraordinary. It amounted almost to an apostasy. At that time and during the centuries that followed, with astonishing rapidity, every possible element of ritual splendour and pagan superstition crept into the Eucharistic service. It was after the Council of Nicea, A.D. 325, that the alteration of the Church's position as to doctrine and ritual became so manifest. The reign of Constantine the Great was the danger era. It was then that the elements of pagan idolatry, holy water, candles, the adoration of relics and the Cross, and other practices of heathenism, swept into the Church. Ideals of pagan origin were adopted with a greediness that seemed like the working of that strange delusion that made men believe a lie, because they received not the love of the truth. The current of Church opinion was running like a flood in a false direction. And its cause was without doubt the fusion of the world and the Church. It was the temporal exaltation of the Church that led to the appalling apostasy from the primitive simplicity of spiritual life and doctrinal view.

From that time on, the Eucharist became more and more conspicuously ceremonial. It displaced all other services. It was invested with every element of ritual magnificence. The rites and ceremonies prescribed at every point of the service by the most minute and exacting rubrics increased as the centuries went on, but even in the Liturgy which is supposed to be the most ancient extant, dating probably from the latter part of the fourth century, the service begins with injunctions to the High Priest and Priest to put on a splendid vestment, to make the sign of the Cross, and to perform various actions, destined within a very short time to become almost as elaborate and complicated as the Roman Service now is. The student of one of these ancient Liturgies, Eastern or Western, will be amazed at the imposing grandeur of their ceremonial, and the apparent importance that gradually became attached to the smallest ritual. It is hard to judge, but it almost looks as if the influence of worldly imitation, the seductive glamour of heathen rites and the pagan splendours of temple worship, were perhaps innocently, perhaps thoughtlessly, adapted by the leaders of the early Church as adding an emphasis of grandeur to the service which they held to be the offering of the body of God.

FURTHER And then other things came in. The
DEPARTURES. service became more and more crowded with intercessory supplications, largely on account of the martyrs' anniversaries. Then this habit of commemorating the beloved dead by oblations led to the development in the service of intercessions for the dead. This, in turn, was followed by the development of intercessions to the dead, and the service was elaborated by all sorts of memorials and inter-

cessions to the saints. Then there followed with swift and perilous effect the thoughtless practice of linking the efficacy of intercessions for the dead with the offering by the priest in the Eucharistic service. It came to be believed that in some way the offering of the sacrifice prevailed for the curtailment of the sufferings of those who were in Purgatory. Along with this developed the idea that the Eucharistic offering in some mysterious way atoned for their sins : a doctrine held with incredible tenacity and which rapidly spread. Oblations for the dead became universal, and soon were developed into celebrations of masses for the souls of the departed. This doctrine seems to have been of Western rather than of Eastern origin, and received its crowning development in Cæsarius of Arles and Gregory the Great. The oblationes pro defunctis are now called Masses for their souls and it was soon believed that the sufferings of the souls in purgatory might be alleviated and shortened through the offering of Masses. In fact, the Mass offering soon became the favourite instrument for the accomplishment of many and successful undertakings. The abuse of the after-development of the sacrifices of Masses and the danger of its teaching is clearly pointed out in Article XXXI.

nus, there grew up and spread as a universal tenet idea that it was sufficient for the sacrificing priest alone to communicate, and that the sacrifice he offered on the altar was of efficacy for the remission of the sins both of the living and the dead. As early as the fifth century it was considered sufficient to be present at the Church during Communion, and Chrysostom lamented that there was no one to communicate with the priest. Thus, the substance of the Lord's Supper was changed. The transubstantiation was complete. The simple

Supper of the Lord has become a spectacular ceremony ; the Communion feast has become a rite of magnificence ; the remembrance of the sacrifice of the Body and Blood has become a *re*-presentation of the sacrifice, which Scripture tells us can never be repeated. " And every priest standeth daily ministering and offering oftentimes the same sacrifice, which can never take away sins ; But this man, after he had offered one sacrifice for sins, for ever, sat down on the right hand of God ;—For by *one* offering he hath perfected *for ever* them that are sanctified.—And their sins and iniquities will I remember no more. Now where remission of these is *there is no more offering for sin.*" Hebrews x., 8-18. In the Great Mystery-Drama, the Incarnation and the Crucifixion were re-enacted before the wondering gaze of the worshipping multitudes, and the very Life of the Son of God Himself was given under the transmuted elements of bread and wine.

The service had become the Mass. As
AND SO far back as the days of Ambrose we
CAME THE pass the final milestone and enter into
MASS. a new era. Writing in the year 384
to a friend, Ambrose, who was then the
Bishop of Milan, said incidentally, without a thought
of doctrinal or historical reference, that he had begun
to celebrate the Mass in his Church. It is not necessary
to quote extracts from Ambrose's writings to show
that his views were similar to those of Cyprian and
Cyril, and that to him the centre of the whole service
was the offering of the Sacrifice, after the Epiclesis
or Invocation (the prayer that the Holy Ghost may
make the bread Christ's Body, and the wine Christ's
Blood). In one word, to him, the priest, the altar,
and the offering of the Sacrifice, with prayers to the

dead, were the essential features of the service. But for the student of history, the point is that we have come to what is at once a terminal point and a starting point in the Church's history. What was known in the New Testament as the Lord's Supper is now known in the Christian Church as the Mass.

There are few things less understood than the Primitive Liturgies. It may be said that average Churchmen, even highly educated and widely-read English Church-Liturgies? men, have often only the vaguest ideas, and often even the most erroneous ideas, with regard to these so-called Primitive Liturgies. For these two things ought to be clearly understood :

- (1) They are not, in the proper sense, Primitive ;
- (2) Though they are called Liturgies, they should be called Mass Services.

They certainly were not primitive because there is scarcely a trace of them before the fourth century, and perhaps the fifth. It is a well known historical fact that the Apostles left no trace of anything like a form for the celebration of the Lord's Supper, or indeed any liturgical form whatsoever that can be regarded historically as authentic.*

* See Srawley, *The Early History of the Liturgy*, Introduction, pp. xiii.-xiv., who says that the attempt to trace, in any existing liturgical forms, an Apostolic Liturgy, is doomed to failure. On page 118 he quotes a remarkable passage from Basil, that great father of the Church, Metropolitan Bishop of Cappadocia, master administrator, preacher, theologian, liturgiologist. In his *sermon on the Holy Spirit*, Basil, who is speaking of unwritten tradition and of the fact that none of the words of the Invocation at the consecration had been left, goes on to say, in the most naïve way (375), that they were not satisfied in their day with the simple words of the Apostle or the Gospel, but they had received from *unwritten tradition* (the *agraphic didaschale*), *other words as having great force*.

Nor were they Liturgies. That is, in the ordinary sense of the word as we English Church people speak of our Prayer Book as a Liturgy. The Primitive Liturgies were really the early forms of celebrating the Mass. When they came in, our idea of the Communion and the Lord's Supper had disappeared from the Church, and the simpler and fuller idea of Church Service that we now associate with the word Liturgy had vanished also.

The most remarkable thing about these so-called Primitive Liturgies was that they sprang up simultaneously in various parts of the world; in Africa, in Asia, that is Eastern Asia, and in Europe, that is Southern and South-Eastern Europe, *after* the sacerdotal and sacrificial ideas of the Holy Communion had fully developed in the Church. They came into being as the ritual exponents of the sacerdotal theories. The sacerdotal theories ante-dated the Liturgies. They appeared as the first fruit and the ripe fruits of the fifth century sacerdotalism. This point must be clearly grasped.

Another remarkable thing is that the persons whose names they bear were not their authors. The so-called Clementine Liturgy was not the work of Clement at all. It is absolutely fictitious, and probably the work of the pseudo-Ignatius, a most unscrupulous forger. There is not the slightest proof that the so-called Liturgy of St. James had any connection whatsoever with the first Bishop of Jerusalem. It is a fraud-liturgy interpolated cut of the so-called Liturgy of Constantinople. It had no more right to be called the Liturgy of St. James than the Sarum had to be called the Liturgy of St. Swithin or St. Dunstan.

But the extraordinary thing is that **THEIR** while there are differences in detail, **BRANCHES.** trivial varieties of order and sequence and form, their broad features are the same. That is in general structure, in general ritual, and, above all, in actual object, spirit and doctrine, all the so-called Primitive Liturgies are one and identical. The great divisions were :

- (1) The Asian : The Syrian, the great Liturgies of St. James, St. Basil, the Clementine, the Armenian, the Nestorian.
- (2) The African : The Liturgies of St. Mark, the Alexandrian, and the Coptic.
- (3) The East European : St. Chrysostom and the Liturgy of Constantinople.
- (4) The West European : The Roman, then the Milanese (Ambrosian), the Mozarabic (the curious term applied to the old Spanish Liturgy), the so-called Gallican, and the traditional Liturgies of the British and Celtic Churches.

The Gallican and Ancient British Liturgies seem to have disappeared by the seventh or eighth century, and were swept into that great absorbent, the Mass Service of the Roman Church.

Now what the reader has to remember is that the essence of all these so-called Liturgies was the celebration of the Mass, with all its prostrations, kissings, censings, bowings, processions, vestings, crossings, and elevations. Their substance was a teaching of the Eucharist that was practically the doctrine of transubstantiation, though it was not formally so termed till many centuries later. That is, when the Primitive Liturgies sprang full-fledged into the arena of the

Church in the fifth century they were all so nearly alike, *not because* they proceeded from one common apostolic form, *but because* they were all formulated in an age when one common idea was held throughout the world with regard to the Eucharist.

We must repeat here, for emphasis, though it is a deeply fixed tenet of Roman writers, and widely received, that the service as celebrated in the Roman Church was of apostolic antiquity and handed by St. Peter himself to the Roman Church, *there is not the slightest trace of any form for the service of the Holy Communion composed by any of the apostles, or any trace of such a form being handed down to any so-called successor of the apostles.* Nor is there the slightest ground for supposing that any, even the earliest, of the so-called Primitive Liturgies is in any respect a legitimate development of the apostles' unwritten tradition.

The earliest form of what we might call consecration or setting apart the bread and wine as a memorial of Christ's death is to be found in the Didache, or "The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles," written probably at the end of the first century. We find that the Lord's Supper still formed a part of the evening social meal of the Christian believer. In consecrating (or setting apart) the bread and wine for the sacred purpose of commemorating the death of their Lord, the following form was used: First, concerning the cup, "We give thanks to Thee, our Father, for the holy vine of David, Thy servant (or Child), which Thou hast made known to us by Jesus, Thy Servant (or Child). To Thee be the glory for ever." And concerning the broken bread, "We give thanks to Thee, our Father, for the life and knowledge which Thou madest known

unto us through Jesus Thy Child. To Thee be the glory for ever. As this bread which we break was once scattered over the hills and gathered together it became one, so may Thy Church be gathered from the ends of the earth into Thy kingdom for Thine is the glory and the power through Jesus Christ for ever" (Didache, ch. ix.).

The Primitive Liturgies represent a terrible falling away from the glory and beauty of the original ideal. Pomp had displaced purity; tradition had displaced Scripture; ceremony and superstition had displaced the simplicity of Christ. They all had one common origin; the natural sacerdotalism of the human heart, and the natural ceremonialism of the sacerdotal mind. With every desire to recognise the fervour of the more spiritually-minded of the Fathers, and their wish to express, with appropriate dignity, the grandeur of the Communion Service, one cannot but realize that one of the strongest elements in the building up of the structure of the Primitive Liturgy was a loss of the words, a love of the world, and a desire to adopt its fascinating ceremonies; the very thing that the early Christians were warned against by St. Paul, St. John, and St. Jude. Acts xx., 29-30, II. Tim. i., 15, II. Tim. iii., 13, Jude iv., 16, Rev. ii., 4-20, iii., 1-14-17.)

THE
RITUAL. All the Liturgies, Asian, African, European, Roman and Gallican, were divided alike into two great sections:

1. The first was the part that came before the offering of the sacrifice, called the Pre-Anaphora.
2. The second was the offering of the sacrifice itself, the Anaphora.

They all had, with one or two possible exceptions, the same practice and doctrines. The prominent features,

were the Mass and movings of the priest and acolytes ; the incense, bowings and genuflections ; the mixing of the water and wine, and prayers for the dead ; the invocation of the Spirit to change the bread and wine into the Body and Blood of Christ. And, as the years passed on, these were more and more marked in the sacrificial vestments, the lighted tapers, the censings of the altar, the invocation of the saints. They all taught as the essential doctrine, the re-offering of the Sacrifice of Calvary by the priest on the altar, that the offering of the sacrifice was efficacious for the living and the dead.

If words have any meaning and if Holy Scripture, as the Church of England so firmly teaches in the 6th Article, is to be the sole arbiter of all that a Christian is to believe, one is compelled to the conclusion that the whole service was the performance of a service the Lord Jesus Christ did *not* ordain, in a way in which His Apostles could *not* have approved, and for a purpose which He and they did *not* intend. If the New Testament account of the Lord's institution of the Last Supper in the Gospels and the 11th Chapter of I. Corinthians is to be the guide, then the Mass Service of the Primitive Liturgies and of the Roman and Eastern Churches to-day is not only corrupt but dangerous, not only blasphemous but idolatrous. (See the last Post-Communion Rubric and Articles XXVIII and XXXI.) Surely St. Paul and St. Peter would have marvelled if they had seen the Lord's Supper celebrated according to the Syriac or the Ambrosian Liturgies ! surely they would have stood aghast as they saw the sacrificing priest enter in all the pomp of his vestments, preceded by deacons with lighted tapers and censers, with the Holy Mother of God and all the saints for intercessors, standing before the altar with incense

vessels and ceremonial genuflections! surely they would have been bewildered to hear him intercede with the Holy Mother of God, to ask the Lord to receive their supplications and present their petitions through the intercession of the Holy Mother of God the Immaculate, to confess his own and the people's sins before God and God's Holy Mother and all the saints, and to inform the Almighty that he is now about to offer the awful and bloodless sacrifice? And truly the man must be strangely constituted who would believe that James, "the apostle and brother of the Lord," had ever seen the Eucharist celebrated according to the Liturgy which bore his name!

We come now to the more practical
 THE HOLY question of the relation of all this to the
 COMMUNION primitive expressions of our own Com-
 IN THE OLD munion Services in England. It is practi-
 BRITISH cally impossible to say what form the
 CHURCH. Communion Service took in the Ancient
 British Church. In the very earliest
 stages—say 100-200 A.D.—it is possible that it was
 identical with the Service of the ancient Church in Rome
 before the Primitive Liturgies came into existence. But
 what that was nobody knows. It may have been
 similar to the service described by Justin Martyr, with
 its Bible readings and congregational prayers and extem-
 pore thanksgivings by the leader, and the distribution
 of the consecrated bread and wine to the people.* (See

* Maskell's exact words are: "We shall probably never know what was the primitive liturgy of the Churches of Britain—observed, perhaps, in parts of the Island for many centuries—before the arrival of St. Augustine. It is almost certain that every copy of it which could be identified has been long ago destroyed." Maskell assumes, one would greatly desire to know upon what historical or literary ground, that there was a Primitive Liturgy of the Churches of Britain. But "it is surely best to avow ignorance where nothing is known."

Maskell's Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England, XLVIII-LI.) But later—from say, 200-400 A.D.—the accepted theory is that it followed the Celtic and British Uses, or possibly the Gallican. Here again, as a matter of fact, what the so-called Celtic and British Uses were is not now known, nor how far they were identical with the Gallican. Indeed, what the Gallican Mass really was, nobody exactly knows. (See Hammond's *Liturgies, Eastern and Western*, pp. 285-363.) The remains of the Gallican Liturgy are in Latin, though the first rudimentary Eucharistic Services, if they were from Ephesus, might have been in Greek, but there seems to be a strong probability that the Gallican Liturgy itself, and probably also the Celtic Liturgy, of which there are no remains, was in Latin, as the residence of so many Roman citizens and troops in England made Latin in a measure the language of the country, and almost certainly the ecclesiastical tongue. The service was possibly simpler than the Clementine, and far less complex than the Medieval Roman or Sarum. But the centre of it was the altar, the offering of the host by the priest, and the doctrine of a localized presence, and a sacrificial efficacy that was universal in the Western Catholic Church of the day. (The reader will find in Duchesne's "*Origin and Evolution of Christian Worship*," an interesting attempt to reconstruct a Mass Service according to the Gallican Use. The imagination, as one would expect in a French Roman Catholic, plays an important part, and he throws a halo of glory around the service. But the heart of it is the Roman Mass. There are the same ornaments of the altar and of the priest, the oblation, the sacrificium, the offertorium, the Pax, the Epiclesis, the honour given to the consecrated body and blood. On the other hand, one sees

also the elements of simpler prayer and simpler ritual, of congregational participation, and the host given into their hands, not put in their mouths; indications, all of them, of an earlier and more scriptural worship.)

But when we reach the age of Augustine,
THE 597 A.D., we touch more solid ground.
ENGLISH Whatever the Mass Service was in Rome,
CHURCH that he introduced into England. And
ROMANIZED. a century later, from Theodore's day
onward, the Holy Communion was no
longer administered according to the simpler order
of the Celtic or Gallican Church, but throughout all
the Church of England the sacrifice of the Mass was
offered by the priest after the Roman fashion of the
day. If what is called the Gallican Liturgy was ever
used in England, and if as many have maintained
there are strong proofs of the identity of what are
called the Old British Liturgies with the Gallican,
this Gallican Liturgy disappeared completely soon
after the Primacy of Theodore, 680 A.D. (See the
writer's "Church of England Before the Reformation,"
pp. 38-61.)

The various Anglo-Saxon services, that is, the Mass
Services of the Church in England during the Anglo-
Saxon and Danish historic period, were simply localized
varieties of the Roman Mass. And later on what
were called the Diocesan Uses, and are referred to
in the Prayer Book Preface as the Salisbury, Hereford,
Bangor, York and Lincoln Uses, were nothing more
than Diocesan forms of the Roman Mass and other
Roman Catholic services.

Remember then, that for century after
THE MASS century, in every church in every diocese
IN THE in England, the people of England
MEDIEVAL assembled Sunday by Sunday to witness
CHURCH OF the celebration of the sacrifice of the
ENGLAND. Mass by the priest, vested in the chasuble,
and going through those multitudinous
ceremonies which are now the essence of that Service.*

III.—THE RESTITUTION.

And then came the great awakening. At last, after many centuries, England's day came, and England's man. For centuries Englishmen had been restless under the advancing aggressiveness of Rome. The sense of British independence, the love of truth, the British craving for constitutional liberty, for century after century found expression in a growing resistance to the Papal demands. But now the Protestantism of England is to take another form. It is about to receive the rising beams of evangelical light. The people who had long groped in darkness were beginning to feel that it *was* darkness. And then God raised up the man who brought to them the light.

* One who has not been present at the Roman Mass, say in a Church in Quebec or Ireland or Italy, cannot really comprehend the multiplicity and complexity of its ceremonial. It is the first thing that strikes one who visits for the first time. It should be known that the priest who goes through the Mass has to observe nearly 500 ceremonies. He must remember 400 rubrics or rules. At the Mass, he signs himself with the sign of the Cross 16 times; turns 6 times, kisses the altar 8 times, strikes his breast 10 times, kneels down 10 times, bows his head 21 times, folds his hands 24 times, signs the altar with the sign of the Cross 31 times, uncovers the chalice 10 times, presses the altar 29 times, folds his hands in prayer 36 times. The priest who celebrates the Mass has hundreds of things to do, of which he cannot omit one without sin. (See *Wright's Service of the Mass*, R.T.S., p. 68.)

The translation of the Bible by John WYCLIFFE's Wycliffe, in 1382, may be taken as the BIBLE AND starting point of the Reformation.

CON- Through that man and by that act, God
CLUSIONS. said to England: Let there be light;
and there was light. The opening of
the eyes of that great English Churchman by the Holy
Spirit through the Holy Bible resulted in three great
things:

First, his conviction that the whole fabric of the
Papal system was erroneous, if not anti-Christian.
Again and again he declared that the Papacy was
Anti-Christ, and its fabric based on falsity.

Second, that the Bible, as the Word of God, was
the exclusive touchstone of truth. By that all was
to stand or fall. It alone was the supreme law, the
final standard by which all doctrine was to be tested.

And third, that the doctrine, which was then the
very heart of the Roman system and teaching, the
doctrine of transubstantiation, with all that it involved
of priestly power and altar sacrifice, was not true.
He took his stand on Scripture and on common sense.
As a thinker, he declared that it was unphilosophical
to say the bread, after consecration, was no longer
bread. It was not reasonable to believe that the
body of Christ would descend into the host in every
church where the priest consecrated. He taunted
the priest on his presuming to make his Maker, and
declared "nothing is more repulsive than that any
priest, in celebrating, daily makes or consecrates the
Body of Christ. For our God is not a recent God"
("De Eucharistia," c. 1, p. 16). "Then then that

art an earthly man by what reason mayest thou saye that thou makest thy Maker " (Wycket vi.).

It was a tremendous conclusion for any man to arrive at in that age. But God was his Arbiter, and the Word of God his authority. Wycliffe most clearly saw and most daringly declared that the imposing super-structure of the Roman system of doctrine and worship was built on a quagmire of tradition, superstition, and cunningly devised fables.

A STRANGE FACT. But a fact of strange interest should be noted here. It does not appear that Wycliffe ever attacked, from the destructive and Protestant standpoint, the various features of the Roman ritual. He does not appear to have discerned, as the Anglican reformers two centuries later did, the falsity and idolatry of the Mass Service as a whole. The time for that, in the providence of God, was apparently not yet ripe.

THE REFORMATION. Now let us pass on through two centuries of English ecclesiastical history into the era of the Reformation. The world was waking from the deep sleep of the Middle Ages. The thoughts of men were widening through science, art, discovery, and above all, through the epoch-making miracle of the day, the printing press. The publication of the Bible had the effect of a spiritual earthquake. Professor Froude, in lecturing upon Erasmus, described the astonishing effect produced by his edition of the Greek New Testament upon the reading world of the day. The laity woke to find that the things that they and their fathers had fondly believed in were a mythology of lies. The

dominating religion of the day was seen to be a sham. "There is no religion in it save forms," said Erasmus, in a burst of honest indignation, "religion is nothing but ritual."

At first Cranmer and the other reforming Bishops had no idea apparently of anything being wrong. As children, and throughout their boyhood, they were taken to the Mass. They had never seen or known anything else. They accepted the Service and its teaching as a matter of course. They believed as every one else did, that when the priest pronounced the words of consecration, the natural body of Christ conceived of the Virgin Mary, was present there upon the altar, and that none of the substance of the bread any longer remained but only the substance of Christ, God and Man. They believed that every Sunday morning in the Mass Service there was a life-giving propitiatory sacrifice for the sins of the living as well as for the sins of the dead, and the very fact of its having the unquestioned veneration of eleven or twelve centuries would incline them to believe that it was ordained of God.

But little by little their eyes were
CRANMER'S opened. Perhaps no single passage in
OPENING the literature of the time throws such a
EYES. revealing light upon the secret source of
the history of the Church of England, for
three and a half centuries, as that little biographical
reference of Cranmer in his work on the Lord's Supper.
It was a kind of confession; a frank unveiling of his
soul. He was talking of his past. "But this I confess
of myself, I was in that error of the real presence, as
I was many years past in divers other errors: as of
transubstantiation, of the sacrifice propitiatory of

the priests in the mass, of pilgrimages, purgatory, pardons, and many other superstitions and errors that came from Rome ; being brought up from my youth in them." And then he said these words that are worthy of being printed in letters of gold.

" But after it had pleased God to show unto me, by His holy word, a more perfect knowledge of His Son Jesus Christ, from time to time, as I grew in knowledge of him, by little and little I put away my former ignorance. . . . And as God of His mercy gave me light, so through his grace I opened mine eyes to receive it, and did not wilfully repugn unto God and remain in darkness." (Cranmer on "The Lord's Supper," Park. Soc., p. 374.)

THE FIRST The first thing apparently that they
GAIN. awoke to was that it was not right to
 have all their services in Latin, a language
which the people could not follow. They determined
to fight for a service in English. And that was what they
got, though in bits, first of all.

And then there came the strong conviction that as the early disciples, both clergy and laity, in the Primitive Church, had received the wine as well as the bread, the laity were wronged of their just right and inheritance in the Last Will and dying Testament of their Lord and Saviour, by being deprived of it. They determined to restore the Sacrament in both kinds. That is, they resolved to have a service that would provide for the administration of the consecrated wine in a cup or chalice to all the people who desired to communicate. An extraordinary innovation in England, for a Church that even in 1548, had the Roman Mass in its entirety, and in Latin.

And then, gradually, probably very gradually, there came the deep conviction that somehow or other *the whole thing was wrong*. It seems almost incredible when we think of it. But at last the great conviction came that that service so magnificent, so spectacular, redolent with the associations of a thousand years, gorgeous in its ancient ceremonial, and enthroned in its high seat of honour throughout Christendom as the sun and centre of all Christian worship, was nevertheless an invention and ordinance of man. *It was false*. The very body of it was false.

Here are some of the Reformers' very words. One of the noblest of the Anglican BISHOPS' Bishops said, "I utterly detest and abhor WORDS. the Mass; it is stuffed with so many absurdities, errors, and superstitions. It is a very masking and mockery of the true Supper of the Lord. It has so bewitched the minds of the simple people that they have been brought from the true worship of God unto pernicious idolatry." Another of them said: "The very marrow-bones of the Mass are altogether detestable. The only way to mend it is to abolish it for ever." And the greatest Anglican of them all, Cranmer, the most scholarly and in many ways, the most conservative, said: "The greatest blasphemy and injury that can be against Christ, and yet universally used through the Popish kingdom, is this: that the priests make their Mass a sacrifice propitiatory, to remit the sins as well of themselves as of other, both quick and dead, to whom they list to apply the same. Thus, the papistical priests have taken upon them to be Christ's successors, and to make such an oblation and sacrifice as never creature made but Christ alone, neither he made the same *any more times*

than once, and that was by His Death upon the Cross." (Cranmer on "The Lord's Supper," Park. Soc., 345); These words may sound strangely harsh. Yet on the living pages of the Prayer Book to-day, in Articles XXII., XXVIII. and XXXI., we have language just as passionate, just as stern.

And so it came to pass that the Lost
THE Supper was found. Lost? Yes. Some-
LOST where between 103 A.D. and 450 A.D., the
SUPPER. precious gift bequeathed by Christ to
His Church, known as the Lord's Supper,
was lost, and buried for over a thousand years beneath
the superstition, false doctrine, and misleading ritual
of the Roman Mass. Found? Yes. After many
gropings on the part of England's Church leaders and
many guidings by God's gracious Spirit, precept upon
precept, line upon line, here a little and there a little,
the Lost Supper was found, and in 1548, 1549, 1552,
restored to England's Church once more. For it must
be remembered that in that marvellous period of recon-
struction their life determination was to recover from the
wreckage of the ages the long-buried elements of Scrip-
tural truth. Gradually they were led to see that the very
idea of the Holy Communion had been buried in the
accumulation of centuries of superstition, tradition and
error. The very name had disappeared. "Tush,"
said a Bishop who was angrily opposing the new teaching
of the reformers, in the famous story told by Latimer,
"What do ye call the Lord's Supper? *What new term*
is that?" ("Latimer's Sermons," Park. Soc., p. 121.)

Gradually the Reformers came to see that in the
Mass of the Church of Rome the idea of sacrifice was
primary, supreme, indispensable; and that the idea

of Communion was secondary, subsidiary and even optional. "It cannot be called Communion," said one of the Bishop-reformers, "for there need not be communicants." *In the institution of the service by our blessed Saviour, the idea of communion was primary, supreme, and indispensable.* The idea of sacrifice, in the Roman sacerdotal sense, was not even secondary or subsidiary. *It was non-existent.* In spite, therefore, of incredible difficulties and in the face of the whole Roman world, they determined to depart from a thousand years of "Catholic usage" and to revert to Scripture and Apostolic teaching, restoring to England's Church, in all its original elements, the institution of the Lord's Supper or the Holy Communion.

The first effort was made in March, THE ORDER 1548, when what was called "The Order OF THE of the Communion" was issued. It COMMUNION, was a most remarkable achievement for 1548. that day. In its origin it seems to have been a kind of after-thought. One of the first provisions of that remarkable First Parliament of Edward VI., when the Church and the nation leaped into the arena of liberty as it were, in a day, was the enactment of the Administration of the Sacrament in Both Kinds. England's astonished Churchmen, cleric and lay alike, heard for the first time that they were to receive the wine at the Mass as well as the Wafer. It was well enough to pass an Act like that in the House of Parliament, but it was a very different matter to carry it out in the Parish Church. The practical question was, "How is it to be done?" Not a trace of such an action, much less the way to perform it, was found in the Roman Mass, and, as the bulk of the English priests were Roman to the core, it was evident

that "either for lack of knowledge, or want of a good will," they would not be very keen to make the experiment. The passing of the Act, therefore, necessitated the appointment of a commission, or, as we would call it nowadays, a committee, to draw up an Order that the legal requirement might be carried into effect. The State authorized the administration of the Cup to the laity. But the Church had no form of service. The State, therefore, had to provide the Church with a service. And this was done by the appointment of a Prayer Book Committee in 1548.

The Committee met at Windsor for the reformation of the service of the Church, and there during the winter of 1548 they produced what was called the Communion Book or, as it is generally termed now, The Order of the Communion.

It must be remembered that this remarkable little Service, the first fruits of reforming Anglican originality, did not by any means displace the Mass. The Roman Mass was still to be celebrated in every church of the Church of England according to the use of Sarum, Hereford, Bangor, York, or Lincoln. But after the spectacular rites and ceremonies of the Mass in Latin had been performed, and the priest himself had received the consecrated Wafer, he was now ordered to prepare, bless and consecrate as much as would serve the people in the biggest chalice, some fair and convenient cup or cups full of wine with some water put into it. He was then to turn to the people and say: "Dearly beloved in the Lord," "Ye coming to this Holy Communion, etc.," and "You that do truly and earnestly repent you of your sins"—the very words that are so familiar to all Church of England com-

municants to-day—and then continue in the words of the Confession, the Absolution, the Comfortable Words and the Prayer of Humble Access. Then he was to deliver to the kneeling people “the Sacrament of the Body of Christ.” And then (this was the innovation!) “the Sacrament of the Blood, giving every one to drink once, and no more”! It was a remarkable piece of work. It was the opening of a Great Door of Entrance. The Mass still held its place. But it was like a man standing in the sand against a rising tide. After centuries of privation the laity of the Church of England were once more privileged and encouraged to partake of the bread and the wine of the Sacred Feast as Christ ordained. In England’s Church the mutilated Sacrament is gone for ever. The Lord’s Supper, as far as the reception of both elements was concerned, is henceforth to be administered as Christ ordained it.

A few months later came out that THE FIRST significant book, the First Prayer Book PRAYER of 1549. In it the Mass of the Roman BOOK, 1549. Church in the Church of England was abandoned. It is true the word “Mass” still remained. The Service was entitled “The Supper of the Lord and the Holy Communion, commonly called the Mass.” But the essence and substance of the Mass Service was gone. Of course, as everybody knows, the service was, as it were, the halfway house from England’s pre-reformation Romanism to the reformed Anglicanism of to-day, and there were many things in it that were abolished later. There was for instance: the Altar, the Vestment or Chasuble, the Eastward Position, permissive Auricular Confession, the Mixed Chalice, Prayers for the Dead, the Invocation

of the Holy Spirit on the elements, and the Intercessory Ministry of the Angels; and, noticeably, the clear teaching of the Real Presence, and the Wafer. But the whole service was in English. The spell of Popery was broken. The Latin Mass had disappeared. The Protestantism of England's Church was inaugurated. The first great step in the declaration of her doctrinal and liturgical independence was taken. As Cardinal Gasquet says: "The new book, that is, the Prayer Book of 1549, displaced the traditional Liturgy in England. From whatever point of view the new Liturgy be regarded, the First Prayer Book is without doubt one of the most momentous documents connected with the ecclesiastical history of England" (Gasquet, "Edward VI.," 182-233). It swept away ruthlessly the ancient and popular practices of religion, according to the Roman Catholic rite, and substituted ideals that were, to the Roman Catholic mind, strange, bare and novel.

But it was not until 1552 that the
THE restitution was complete. The Prayer
SECOND Book was carefully revised and all the
PRAYER semi-Romish features of the 1549 Prayer
BOOK, 1552. Book were eliminated. Unimpeded by
ecclesiastical or political obstructions,
spurred on by the earnest young King, the Bishop-Reformers gave to England what is, for all practical purposes the Communion Service of the Church as it is now celebrated week after week throughout the Empire. Their objective was achieved. The temporary interim which marked the ecclesiastical compromise of the First Prayer Book passed away. To-day the Prayer Book will be searched in vain for the words Altar, Auricular Confession, Chrism, Anointing, Reservation of the Sacrament, Prayers for the Dead, Invoca-

tion of Saints, and the various lingering elements of Romish doctrine and Romish ritual found in almost every service of that Book. The dreams that they dreamed, and the visions that they saw, found their realization in the *Second* Prayer Book, and their settlement in its final adoption as the Prayer Book of the Church of England in 1559 by Elizabeth's Act of Uniformity which is a legal part of every Prayer Book of the Church of England, as it is in every table copy of the Canadian Prayer Book. The old was cast away. As Cardinal Gasquet says, "With regard to the English (Prayer) Book, what it was in 1552 it practically remains to the present day. The position which was deliberately abandoned in 1549, and still further departed from in 1552, has never been recovered" (p. 307). As an Anglican, however, I would prefer rather to state it in this way: The position which was deliberately attained in the Prayer Book of 1552 has never since been abandoned by the Church of England.

The triumph of the 1552 Prayer Book is a matter that should receive a stronger emphasis. It is customary with many Churchmen to regard the 1552 Prayer Book as a discarded phase of Anglican liturgical history. But to one who goes into the matter with a careful study, *the triumph of the Prayer Book of 1552* seems almost incredible. If one would take, for instance, such a work as the "English Rite" by Brightman, and study the four-column tables of the Holy Communion, pp. 638 to 721, it is wonderful to find how the Sarum Mass has scarcely a vestige left. The 1549 Communion, as far as the so-called "Catholic" features are concerned, is nearly all gone. But, *with scarcely a vestige of alteration in column after column, the Communion Service of 1552 stands in the Prayer Book to-day as it was 370 years*

ago, the omission of the first half of the Words of Administration being rectified in 1559.

But here two points are worthy of notice. Little or nothing remained of the Sarum Mass. As there is considerable misconception on this point it is well for the student of Church teaching to remember this: the idea that our Communion Service is essentially, and for all practical purposes, the same as the Sarum Mass is utterly wrong. Canon Evan Daniel says, "if the reader compares our Communion Service with the Gallican Liturgy he will see that in all essential matters the mode of celebrating the Eucharist in the Ancient Gallican Church is identical with that of the Church of England to-day." ("On the Prayer Book," p. 10, 16th Ed.) As a matter of fact, in its spirit, its aim and intention, in its order and substance, especially in what is called its sequence, our Communion Service is essentially, substantially, and absolutely different. It has a completely different object. It is a *Communion Service*; not a service for the offering of the sacrifice by the vested priest upon the altar, as the Gallican Mass Service was. It has a completely different form. It is in English. The Mass Service, from the beginning, in England was in Latin. It is simple, spiritual, scriptural. It is the Communion Service of the Lord's Supper. The proof of this is very simple. Take your Prayer Book. Open it at the Communion Service. Count the various elements one by one: the four Rubrics, the Ten Commandments, the ten responses, the two Prayers for the King, and so on and so on, right to the end. You will find that there are about 75 parts in all. And of these, some 70 parts have *nothing whatever* corresponding to them in the Sarum Mass. They are purely

the work of the reformation era, they represent the genius of the Church of England, reformed and purified by the Spirit and Word of God. Then take "The Ordinary and Canon of the Mass according to Sarum," (Dodd's Translation), and go through its 150 to 200 parts and you will find that, with the exception of the opening Collect, the Gloria in Excelsis, the Sursum Corda, the Ter Sanctus, the Gospel and the Epistle, there is *absolutely nothing* in the service corresponding to the present Communion Service of the Church of England. And even with regard to those elements of the service that were in the old Sarum or in the Gallican Mass, if they were in the Gallican Mass, they are in a totally different position in our Communion Service. As to the Gospel and the Epistle, they would never be recognised, for they were placed in such an environment of weird ceremonial that no ordinary Anglican would ever know that it was the Gospel and Epistle that were being read.

Nor is there anything in our Communion Service that corresponds with the doctrinal and ritual objective of the so-called Primitive Liturgies. Here again the average Anglican encounters a surprise. But those who will throw aside prepossessions and the tradition of generations of second-hand reading and thinking and investigate the Clementine, the Syriac, the Coptic the Ethiopic or Armenian Liturgy, will find that from beginning to end, their tone and note and teaching is *utterly unknown* in our Church to-day. The sequence, as well as the substance, the ritual and doctrine, is absolutely different. Cranmer, in language that was proud in its indignation, said to his slanderers, "who abused his name and bruited abroad that he set up the Mass at Canterbury and that he (Cranmer) offered to

say Mass before the Queen's Highness (that is, Queen Mary) and at St. Paul's Church ' as for offering myself to say Mass before the Queen's Highness, or in any other place, I never did but I shall be ready to prove against all that the Communion Office (meaning the Second Prayer Book, 1552) is conformable to the order which our Saviour Christ *did* both observe and command to be observed, and which His Apostles and primitive Church used many years; whereas, the Mass, in many things, not only hath no foundation of Christ, His Apostles, nor the primitive Church, but also is manifest contrary to the same; and containeth many horrible blasphemies in it.' " (Strype, "Cranmer," 437-438.) It would be as absurd to say that Cranmer followed the ideal of the Ancient Eastern Liturgy, as to say that he took as his model the famous Sarum Office or that he grounded our Service upon it. No! His whole being would have revolted with profound indignation against the idea of his looking to a service which he believed had not only no foundation in Christ or the Primitive Church, but was manifestly contrary to the same.

To conclude the whole matter. What
A they got we now have; and what, by
SUMMARY. the grace of God, they held, we, by the
same grace, now hold. The Holy Communion Service that they secured and which is now to be found in every Prayer Book of the Church of England is a heritage, the beauty and worth of which ought to be more and more realized by English Churchmen, but it will be almost impossible for us to understand its essential value unless we endeavour to see the dream that they dreamed and the vision that they saw in the Spirit of God.

What they wanted above all things
WHAT was to get back the Lord's Supper. On
THEY that point they were very clear. No one
WANTED. can read the writings of Archbishop
Cranmer, Bishop Ridley and Bishop
Latimer without seeing that that was the objective of
all their labours. They wanted to get rid of the Mass.
And they did. They did not want an Anglican Mass.
They did not want a revived or a revised Gallican Liturgy.
They did not want a Sarum Mass purified. "I have
read the New Testament over seven times," said Bishop
Latimer, "and I cannot find the Mass in it."

They were determined to get back to the original. They
opened the New Testament. As they studied it, they
saw that the Lord's Supper was not instituted while the
disciples were fasting, *but as they were eating*; that
Jesus took bread—not a lamb slain in sacrifice—but
bread, about which there never was or ever could be
anything propitiatory; that this bread was not offered
on an altar or eaten before an altar, nor did it involve
the presence or action of a priest; that Christ broke
the bread and did not give an unbroken Wafer; that
the bread was bread after He gave it and was eaten by
all, not gazed at; that the elements were received, not
offered; and that *all* were expressly ordered to take
the wine as well as the bread.

And so, as they read and studied these
WHAT things deeply and more deeply in the
THEY Spirit, and laid that original simple Supper
SECURED. of the Saviour side by side with the specta-
cular performance, the theatrical presenta-
tion with mystic meanings and symbols and vestments
and ceremonial, the great drama performed by the priest
in the chancel before the gazing multitude, in the Latin

tongue, with ceremonies dark and dumb, their whole soul rose in a passionate revolt to think that Englishmen for so many centuries should have been cheated and defrauded by such a travesty and counterfeit, and that their God had been dishonoured by a service so destitute of Truth. No wonder then that when these great Churchmen secured for us once more the long lost Lord's Supper and brought back to England's Church the Holy Communion, Cranmer cried with a proud elation of spirit: "Thanks be to the Eternal God! The manner of the Holy Communion which is now set forth within this realm of England is agreeable with the institution of Christ, with St. Paul, and the old primitive and apostolic church, with the right faith of the sacrifice of Christ upon the cross for our redemption, and with the true doctrine of our salvation, justification, and remission of all our sins, by that sacrifice." (Cranmer, "The Lord's Supper," p. 354, Park. Soc.)

But they not only wanted to get back the Lord's Supper. They wanted to construct the service on the exact lines of the original plan and purpose of the Lord as set forth in the four Gospels, and especially in the teaching of the 11th Chapter of 1st Corinthians.

Their first endeavour in 1548, in the pioneer service of the reign of Edward VI., was known as the Order of the Communion. It was just a little four-page tract in English, to be tacked on as an appendix to the Roman Mass, which was still to be said in its entirety in Latin. But this little Order of the Communion was a most extraordinary innovation, from the pre-Reformation standpoint, for considerably more than one-half of it was occupied with *matter which had for its object the preparation of the communicant*. It proves that Cranmer's master purpose, even as far back as

the year 1548, seems to have been the opening of the eyes of the Churchmen of England to the duty of receiving the Sacrament *worthily*, and that to receive worthily meant with true repentance, with earnest and living faith in Christ, and a heart that was divested of all hatred and unforgiving malice. You can see in the four exhortations *the legitimate consequence of a reversed idea of the Service itself*. If the main purpose of the worshipping body was merely to witness the offering of a sacrifice which was largely a priest's affair, a chancel affair, a choir affair, it is obvious that personal preparation was not so necessary. But if the object was the partaking of the Lord's Supper by a body of believers, intelligent, spiritually-minded, with personal faith (Article XXVIII.), as the Holy Communion, and if the Sacrament had a wholesome effect or operation only in such as worthily received it, that is, with true repentance and living faith, one can realize in a moment that the first necessity was to see that the heart and mind of the communicant was to be prepared along the lines of I. Cor. xi., 27-29, and that the Liturgy itself should embody some practical way of doing it. How thoroughly they carried out that resolve will be shown later.

A NEW SERVICE. In the next place, their object was to reproduce as far as possible, liturgically, the exact thing that our Lord intended in the original institution. Daringly to say of the sacred Service of the Church, that no innovating hand had dared to alter for over 1,200 years, that this is not and cannot be the model that we will follow; to say we must initiate an entirely different style, form and manner of service; that we must return to apostolic simplicity; indicated a fear-

lessness in the cause of truth that was only possible to men who believed that they were being led in every step by the guiding Spirit of God. "As for me," said Archbishop Cranmer, in words that deserve to be written in letters of fire on the hearts of every Anglican Churchman, "*I ground my belief upon God's Word, wherein can be no error*" (Cranmer on "The Lord's Supper," Park. Soc., p. 368). The whole of the initial part of the Mass Service, occupying say from thirty to forty minutes, was simply swept away. A new thing altogether—some say Lutheran, but many think purely Anglican—was introduced in the recitation of the Ten Commandments; as if they desired to carry through the first part of the service the Lighted Lamp of the Law of God searching each conscience. If here and there in the main body of the Service little fragments of the original Liturgies peer out, and certain elements that are found in the Roman Mass appear, it must be remembered, as that great Churchman, Hooker, said in his Ecclesiastical Polity (Book V., 12-6), that "we are not to forsake any true opinion because idolaters have maintained it; and where Rome follows reason and truth we fear not to follow the self-same steps." So we have the Lord's Prayer and the opening Sarum Collect; the Epistle and Gospel which came, of course, from the Church's very beginning; the *Sursum Corda* and the *Ter Sanctus*. But in our service all these are in a totally different setting and are entirely free from any thought of a descent of Christ upon the Altar. These things came to us *through* Rome; but they did not come *from* Rome. They came from the New Testament and the Apostolic Church. And it must also be remembered that in their connection, their intention, that is, in what the liturgical writers

technically call the sequence, they are absolutely different so far as their *place* and ritual and meaning goes from the Roman Service. As Cardinal Gasquet says in his remarkable work, "Edward the Sixth and the Book of Common Prayer," "the ancient ritual oblation, with the whole idea of which the idea of sacrifice was so intimately associated, was swept away, that venerated service that had 'remained unaltered during thirteen centuries,' " and *the reformers resolved that "it should henceforth be impossible to trace in the Communion Service of the Church of England any resemblance however innocuous to the ancient Mass"* (pp. 194, 196, 197, 291).

THE FINAL
SEPARATION. But it was in the Post-Communion Service that they sounded their final farewell to all that is Roman and from the standpoint of the Primitive Liturgy, "Catholic." That is, in the first three Rubrics they broke clean away from a thousand years of so-called Catholic practice and teaching and, so far from making the Communion the one supreme and indispensable service for the laity on every Lord's Day they actually made the Communion, for the ordinary parish church, a dispensable and optional service, provided that all parishioners communicate at least three times a year. The ideal was of course higher. With a clear eye, with a firm mind, knowing absolutely what they did, for they were men of the profoundest and strongest convictions, *they displaced of set purpose the celebration of the Holy Communion from its central place as the sacrificial offering, or, as it is called by many, the highest act of Christian worship, by making it not as in Rome the indispensable service, but as it is in the Church of England to-day, a service that "shall not be celebrated*

unless there be a convenient number of communicants." No clearer challenge to the so-called "Catholic" doctrine of the indispensability of the Eucharist as the supreme service could be imagined. And in the last Rubric they finally departed from the whole idea of the Medieval Roman teaching with regard to the service by declaring that "*no adoration* is intended or ought to be done to the Sacramental Bread or Wine; that the Sacramental Bread and Wine *may not be adored*; that were Idolatry to be abhorred of all faithful Christians."

Now everybody knows that the centre of the Primitive Liturgy and of the Roman Mass was Sacerdotal Sacrifice. Adoration was its *logical* necessity. The true view of the Mass Service can only be gained by looking at it as a whole, as one great act of Eucharistic Sacrifice. (Gasquet, p. 197.)

Our Reformers, therefore, in their declaration, flung out the banner of our Church's defiance of Rome. The Anglican view of the Holy Communion is, that *it is not* as a whole an act of Eucharistic Sacrifice, but that *it is* the Lord's Supper. "To put the oblation of the priest in the stead of the oblation of Christ," said Cranmer, "to refuse the Sacrament of His Body and Blood ourselves as He ordained and trust to have remission of our sins by the sacrifice of the priest in the Mass, is not only to do injury to Christ but commit most detestable idolatry, for these be but false doctrines, feigned by wicked Popish priests who have corrupted the most holy Supper of the Lord and turned it into manifest idolatry. For as much then," Cranmer went on to say, "as in such masses is manifest wickedness and idolatry . . . all such Popish masses are to

be clearly taken away out of Christian Churches, and the true use of the Lord's Supper is to be restored again."

For this they dared not only to live but to die. In these days when the Church in England is being almost rent in twain by men who are compassing sea and land for the re-establishment of the Mass in its seat of honour as the Eucharistic Sacrifice, *we must never forget that what our Church leaders really died for was the truth of the Lord's Supper as we now have it in our Communion Service.* We may well remember that great day in Oxford, in April, 1554, when Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer were solemnly asked for the last time whether they would still continue to believe in the teaching of our Church and our Communion Service, or whether they would accept the Roman dogma of transubstantiation and the Mass. Deliberately and decisively our great Martyr-Bishops answered with an unhesitating voice :

"WE ARE NOT MINDED TO TURN."

From that place they went to die, and were burned for refusing to accept the Mass teaching of the Church of Rome. But the heritage they bequeathed by their life and death to the Church of England was the Communion Service of the Church of England, the Lord's Supper.

PART II.—AN EXPOSITION.

The real significance of our Communion Service in the light of the original structure.

In studying the Communion Service, as a whole, it should be remembered at the outset that "it is a dictate of common sense that any examination of its origin and sources should be conducted with a primary regard to the circumstances in which, and the opinions of the persons by whom, it was produced. In a word it must be put in its proper historical setting, and illustrated from the writings of those who composed it . . . and not by the productions of those centuries, the doctrine and practice of which it was the avowed aim and intention of its authors to destroy." (Gasquet, p. 20, *cf.* Prot. of Prayer Book, pp. xxii-xxiii.)

It is a truism, of course, but a truism that needs to be repeated, that the Prayer Book as a whole represents the spirit of a new Anglicanism. It stands for the completeness of the victory of the Reformation. A small but triumphant minority of Scripture-taught leaders were enabled, in the providence of God, to achieve the *re*-formation of the Church in doctrine and ritual. For it must be remembered that the Church of England was Ultramontane in allegiance, Roman in doctrine, Roman Catholic in Communion, and Romish in ritual. It was identified with Rome as the heart is identified with the body. Its central and conspicuous service was the Roman Mass, celebrated according to the Use of Sarum. And the Church of England emerged from that triumphant struggle with two books: the one, *the cause*, the other, the consequence of its *re*-formation—the people's Bible, translated, printed, published, and

put in every Church in the land ; and the people's Prayer Book, conceived and compiled, revised and completed, in the spirit of a spiritual and scriptural reconstruction.

The Prayer Book, therefore, stands for the new genius of the worship of the Church. Ecclesiastically, it represented the regaining of the devotional rights of the laity and the declaration of the independence of the Church of England. Doctrinally, it stood for the restoration of scriptural truth. Liturgically, it was the re-establishment of the principles of New Testament and apostolic worship. In one word, its supreme objective was the restoration of the reality of worship, and the re-vitalizing of the religion of the Church of a nation. It was the historic fulfilment, as far as England's Church was concerned, of the prophecy of the dry bones in Ezekiel's vision. (Ezek. xxxvii., 5-10.) The Church of England was a redeemed Church, redeemed from legalism and formalism, redeemed by truth, its redemption sealed by the blood of its martyrs.

The starting point of all our readings and thinking, therefore, is that the men who compiled the Communion Service were spirit-led men, and, above all things, clear in the vision of what they desired. They were men whose theological and doctrinal view-point had been changed. They knew exactly what they wanted and they determined to secure it in the Order of the Service of the Church. This, and this only, explains the Communion Service of the Church of England. It was not a meaningless conglomeration of Sarum, Lutheran, Primitive, and Reformed material. It was a distinct whole. It was the consummation of a definite liturgical plan. There is nothing like it in the Roman

Catholic or the Sarum Mass. In many ways, also, it differs distinctly from the Lutheran. It can only be understood when taken as a whole. It must be read in the light of the constructive genius of the Spirit-led and Spirit-taught compiler or compilers of the Service.

We will first of all make an analysis of the component parts and view it in its three great sectional divisions.

THE
THREE
DIVISIONS.

The Communion Service is divided into three great sections :

- (1) The Ante-Communion, as it is commonly called, which includes all the matter up to the end of the Prayer for the Church Militant.

The keynote of this section is *preparation* ; in searching the heart by the Word of God and prayer. It includes the four preliminary Rubrics, the Lord's Prayer and the Collect, the Ten Commandments, Collects, Epistle and Gospel, confession of faith, sermon and offertory and prayer ; the liturgical fulfilment of I. Cor. xi., 27-34. The whole of this part of the Service is the practical fulfilment of the Church requirements of repentance and faith, newness of life and love, as set forth in the Catechism and the Articles.

- (2) The Communion Proper, which begins with the Exhortation and the General Confession and goes down to the end of the Words of Institution.

The key-notes of this central section are *approach* and *participation*, in the spiritual and personal heart searching, worship, the

and humility. It includes the Exhortation and thankful remembrance, Invitation, Confession and Absolution, the Consolatory Words, Entrance into the Holy of Holies, adoration and most humble pleading of unworthiness to receive the spiritual food—unworthiness removed by the Cross, confirmed and applied as by the Ten Commandments and consecrated Bread and Wine—with a climax, the Consecration Prayer and reception of the elements.

- (3) The Post-Communion, from "Our Father," to the Benediction.

The key-note of this section is *praising* in the spirit of prayer and praise and peace for the sacrifice or oblation of the communicant's soul and body, and the final adoration of the Gloria in Excelsis.

Now the thing that strikes us is the uniqueness of the opening of the Communion Service in the Church of England. It is a distinctive break from the service of the Mass. If the service of the Lord's Supper forms a whole, it is a striking contrast to anything that had been found in the Church of England for a thousand years. Of all parts of the service, the opening part, from the medieval present, must certainly have had a surprise novelty. The prominent feature at the beginning of the Anglican service is the extraordinary insistence on the principle that in order to get the blessing of the Service the heart must be right in the sight of God. From the beginning to the end of the service, the key-note of sincerity is emphasized in every possible way. The genius of the Church of England has always been practical. There is, throughout the

Prayer Book, a determination to exclude, as far as is possible, all formalism and unreality on the part of the worshipper. For it must be remembered that the highest object of the Reformation was the effort of awakened men to rid the Church of England not only of idolatry, but of the curse of hypocrisy. We modern Churchmen will probably never understand how deeply the hatred of the formality of the Mass Service was burnt into the minds of our Bishop-Reformers; or how strong was their resolve to make Reality the very essence of the restored Lord's Supper. And so the *opening part of the Service* seems to be carefully built upon the Apostolic basis of I. Cor. xi., 27-34. Any one familiar with the Roman Catholic Mass knows the elaborate preparation of the vesting of the priest and of the altar, the bowings, crossings and censings, the multiplied genuflections and kissings of the altar and all the actions that constitute the solemn and indispensable introduction to the preliminary service.

But an outsider who studied, for the first time, the Anglican Service, would be struck with the fact that the two longest preliminary rubrics have nothing whatever to do with either ritual or order or doctrine. They concern conduct. They are of a moral and personal character. The approach to the service is through the portal of the life. He would be struck with the fact that the main thing at the outset of the Communion Service, in the mind of the Church of England, is the anxiety for consistency of character and a regard for the moral state of the recipient. The quintessence of the Reformation lies here.

Now, as we proceed with the Service, we are struck with this continually. After the Lord's Prayer, the

service begins with a Collect that is one of the most heart-searching and comprehensive in the whole Prayer Book. It is an old Prayer, exquisitely translated by Cranmer. It voices the cry of the body of God's people for the cleansing of the very thoughts of the heart by the inspiration of God's Holy Spirit, that there may be a perfect love and a worthy exaltation of God's name. As the people remain on their knees, the most solemn demands of the Most High, as expressed in the Ten Commandments, are heard by their listening ears, and then each soul sends forth its cry for mercy and for Divine grace to keep this law, not only in the letter, but in the spirit, in the very heart, according to the teaching of Heb. viii., 10. From whatever source the Church of England got this inauguration section of the Holy Communion, whether from some Lutheran, or as has been conjectured, from one of our own Anglican Bishops, matters little. The point is that the Service starts with a searching of the hearts of the people by the Lamp of God's Law.

But more striking still, is the insertion
THE FOUR in the very heart of the service of what are
EXHORTA- called the four Exhortations. They are
TIONS. entirely Anglican. Not only do they
contain a significant exposition of the
two-fold aspect of the Holy Communion, in language
at once simple and sublime, but they will ever remain
as a monument of the Church's resolve to clear the way
to the Lord's Table. They are impregnated with the
very spirit of I. Cor., xi., 27. They seem to say, in
solemn tones; This Communion Service is the solemn
and strengthening sacrament of the Body and Blood
of Christ. But it is so divine and comforting only to
those who receive it worthily. There is great peril in

receiving it unworthily. Search, therefore, and examine your consciences. Come holy. Come clean. Be ready to forgive. If there is secret or open sin, repent, or else come not. Come with a quiet conscience. Come with a full trust in God. Come with living and steady faith. In the last exhortation, which is so familiar, is a feature of the Church of England that is very marked throughout the Prayer Book and is put in the forefront of the Communion Service. It is the use of the adverbs "truly" and "earnestly." It shows that the Church of England demands no more formal or verbal offerings of lip confession or lip homage. So great is the final demand that no one can approach the chancel at the Holy Communion who has not been asked to repent, *truly* and *earnestly*, to live in love, with the intention of leading a *new* life, and drawing near with faith.

It is evident then to the student of our Communion Service that the emphasis, as far as the communicant is concerned, is neither upon the ritual nor upon the doctrine, but, primarily and throughout, upon the *state of one's heart and life*. To this end the whole of the Ante-Communion Service seems directed. For after the Ten Commandments, there follows the teaching of God's Word in the Gospel and in the Epistle, nearly all of which, throughout the Church year, emphasize some great truth of doctrine and spiritual teaching, conjoined with and emphasized by some phase of Christian living. In the Canadian Prayer Book, the time-honoured responses are introduced by rubrics; "Here shall be sung or said, 'Glory be to thee, O Lord'; and the Gospel ended, the people shall in like manner sing or say, 'Thanks be unto thee, O Lord,'"—words which seem to express the rapture of the believer's heart as he listens, as it were, to the pronouncement of a message from the

Lord Himself. Then comes the confession of personal faith, the recitation of the Creed. It is a pity that this is not more thoroughly understood, for it is one of the most important things in the whole service. It is the demand both of Christ and His Apostles, Matt. x., 32, and Romans x., 10, for if with the heart man believeth, with the mouth confession is made; for the Scripture saith, "whosoever believeth on Him shall not be ashamed." To this great end also is the hearing of God's Word in the preaching of the Gospel in the sermon and before the offertory, I. Cor. xvi., 1.

THE OFFERTORY. It must be remembered that the Offertory, like the Sermon at this service, was an entirely new feature in the Church of England Prayer Book. The Offertory in the Roman Mass was a totally different thing. It was the offering, with most elaborate ritual, of the Wafer for the Immaculate Host, and the elevation and offering up, with crossings and bowings and censings, of the Chalice; and the tinkling of the bell to tell the people the great offering of Calvary and its repeated sacrifice is about to commence. And then, the long and elaborate consecration prayers known as the "Canon."

This service of spectacular ritual, Archbishop Cranmer cut out and substituted for it, in the very heart of the Communion Service, that very practical method of evidencing our religion, the offering of our substance to the Lord, according to the letter of Exodus xxxv., 5-21, and the spirit of Heb. xiii., 15-16. And he enforced the right and the reason and the method and the measure of the people's giving, by a series of most wisely chosen texts from the Word of God on the subject. These money offerings of the people are then to be humbly

presented to the Lord, as oblations or devotions; and at the revision of 1662 then were directed to be placed upon the Holy Table.*

The climax of the Ante-Communion is THE CHURCH the Prayer for Christ's Church militant MILITANT here in earth. In the First Prayer Book, PRAYER. it was part of the great Consecration Prayer and contained a very distinct prayer for the departed, "We commend unto thy mercy, O Lord, all other thy servants which are departed from us with the sign of faith, and now do rest in the sleep of peace. Grant unto them, we beseech thee, thy mercy, etc." In the Prayer Book of 1552, this great prayer appeared with a new title, a new setting, a new form, and a new teaching. The very significant words were added, "Let us pray for the whole state of Christ's Church militant here *in earth*." The words "in earth" are emphatic and suggestive. They show that the prayer is to be used for the living, and for the living only. But while it deliberately excludes any praying for the faithful departed, it teaches us to thank

* The reader is here referred to that very able work of Bishop Dowden entitled *Further Studies in the Prayer Book*, pp. 193-196, in which he shows that "oblation" cannot mean the bread and wine, but simply money offerings. The Scotch Prayer Book Rubric of 1637 provides that one of the Churchwardens shall receive the devotions of the people in a basin and bring the basin, with the oblations therein. Oblations were always identified with money offerings. It is significant that the devotions, that is, the money offerings, when they are brought by the minister, are to be humbly *presented* and *placed* upon the Table, but the bread and wine are simply to be *placed*. The words "presented" and "offered up" are intentionally avoided. This is a very remarkable fact, when we consider that this rubric was inserted in the Prayer Book in 1662, in defiance of the desire of the Bishops that the word "presented" should be used of the offering of the bread and wine. It was done in order that there might be countenance given to the sacrificial idea of the Eucharist

God for them,* and to ask God that we may be partakers of His Heavenly kingdom with them. The prayers, as a whole, is one of marvellous comprehensiveness. It breathes the very heart of a glorious catholic prayer for all that do confess God's Holy Name, for all Christian kings, for all bishops and clergy, for all God's people, for all the troubled, with a thanksgiving for all who have departed this life in God's faith and fear. The succession of "all's" is remarkable. The more one studies its depth of meaning and far-reaching petitions, the more one thinks of what manner of men we Churchmen ought to be to send forth petitions that can sway the movements of empires, secure grace for a world-embracing Church, and bring down blessing upon the world of troubled and needy hearts, by the use of a prayer, so profound in its depth of meaning, so forceful in its tremendous reach, To repeat the words of such a mighty prayer as that for the Church Militant, in terms of a parrot-like formalism, seems almost like treachery. Only those who are living on the plane of a warm, sympathetic, victorious communion with God are fit to use so significant a masterpiece of intercession.

II.—THE COMMUNION PROPER.

As we approach the central part of the Service, the Communion Proper, we are again impressed with the fact of the extreme care that is taken to secure a body of believing participants.

THE
APPROACH. The spirit of earnestness and devotion becomes more tense. As guarding gates, the four Exhortations stand before the inner shrine of the reception of the Communion. They

* This was added in 1662.

are the Church's effort to translate into practical effect the teaching of Articles XXV and XXVIII: 'In such only as *worthily* receive the Sacraments have they have a wholesome effect or operation,' or, as it is in Article XXVIII, 'To such as *rightly, worthily, and with faith,* receive them.'

The Exhortations then stand as guards of the Church's fidelity to standard, as admitting to Communion only such as are worthy to receive the same. While in the second, they earnestly and lovingly plead for men to dethrone all feigned excuses and come to the Feast to which they are so lovingly called and bidden by God Himself, in the first, third and fourth, they say with solemn tones "Bewail your sinfulness. Be reconciled to your fellow men. Be ready to make restitution and satisfaction. Be ready to forgive. Repent truly. Have living faith. Receive with a true penitent heart." But what strikes us as most significant in these Exhortations is the way in which they set forth the central truth of Christianity, the very citadel of our religion; the Atonement. It is declared to be Christ's meritorious death and passion whereby alone we obtain remission of our sins. It is the sacrifice of His death. It is the redemption of the world by the death and passion of our Saviour Christ, both God and Man. And, throughout, the Lord's Supper is equally set forth in its two great aspects; remembrance and spiritual nourishment.

Passing from the words of exhortation, THE meekly kneeling Churchman is now FIVE STEPS led from strength to strength through UP. five successive stages of devotion, until the climax of the actual reception of the elements is reached. Here again the sequence of the

service is in exact accord with the demands of a spiritual and scriptural order. For, before there can be praise and lofty adoration, there must be the prostration of the soul in the pleading for forgiveness and the realization of the removal of the sin burden, through the assurance of personal forgiveness in the Absolution. Before the quieting and uplifting sense of peace, there must be the evangel of pardon. And so the Great Entrance in the Prayer Book Communion Service is, at the start, the soul's confession, the soul's acceptance and the soul's assurance of comfort and peace in order that there may be the opening of the lips in overflowing praise and adoration. Surely it was an inspiration that led Archbishop Cranmer, to see that the place of the Ter Sanctus, the Sursum Corda and the Gloria in Excelsis in the Sarum Mass was all wrong. Surely it was the leading of the Spirit of God that led him so carefully to order the various elements of our Communion Service that the great Eucharistic features of adoration should come *not before* but *after* the confessions of sin and the declarations of pardon. That was the reason, undoubtedly, why he removed the Gloria in Excelsis from its place in the Roman Catholic and Lutheran Communions to the very end of our service.

 The first step, therefore, is *Penitence*.
FIRST, It not only re-echoes the first demand of
PENITENCE. the Gospel, through Christ and His
Apostles (Mark i, 15 ; I. John, i, 8-9), but it seems to answer to the natural desire of the soul to lay aside, at the beautiful gate of the Temple of Communion, the soul burden of sin. The personal confession of sin is articulated in this wonderful General Confession, the language of which sometimes seems almost like an exaggeration. Its sentences are terrific in their earnest-

ness. Its cries are the *De Profundis* cries of souls burdened with a sense of the exceeding sinfulness of sin (Rom. vii, 13-18). We confess not only our sins but our manifold sins ; sins grievously committed, by thought, word and deed ; sins provoking most justly God's wrath and indignation. We confess that the burden of these sins of ours is intolerable, a word which seems to imply that no human heart can bear that which only can be carried by the Lamb of God (John i, 29 ; I. Peter ii, 24). In an age like this, inoculated with Russelism, Pseudo-Science, Theosophy and Unitarianism, these expressions of the nature of sin and God's right to be indignant and wrathful, evoke surprise or even disdain. But Churchmen to-day may well be grateful that Cranmer, in this very remarkable prayer has left for Churchmen for all time so wonderful an expression of the very secrets of the sin-convicted soul, in its desire for mercy and forgiveness and the longing for a newness of life, of service and God-pleasing.

SECOND, The second step is *Pardon*. The jovous
PARDON. consciousness of sin forgiven, the assurance
 of personal pardon, is now brought home
to the heart, through the words of a declaratory Absolution, most beautiful, most true. Here again, in this absolution, the constructive genius of Cranmer is marvellously manifest. The words are the words of Sarum and Cologne ; but the spirit is the spirit of truth and evangelical clarity. Its tones of purity and power fill the ear with a sweetness and a strength that prepare for the great *Sursum Corda* so soon to follow.

THIRD, The third step is that of *Peace*. There
PEACE. are few more beautiful sentences in the
 Prayer Book than those Scripture texts

that are known to all Churchmen as "The Comfortable Words." The heart that has just been assured of the Father's promised pardon is now confirmed in its faith by the previous promises of the Evangel of Christ. They are indeed "good words and comfortable" (Zech. i, 13), inspiring because inspired. Words intended, in the true sense of the word "comfort," to give power to the faint and strength to them that have no might. There are only four of them and they are, in their quaint English, possessed of a strange and uplifting pathos to modern ears. Cranmer probably got them from the Liturgy of his friend, the Prince Archbishop Hermann of Cologne, and the subsequent revisers, from his day to ours, have left them just as they were in the Cranmer version of the Great Bible, 1540. Archbishop Hermann's Reformed Lutheran Communion Office was of a moderate and conservative type, and gave many suggestions to Cranmer in his compilation of our Communion Service. A curious fact is that in the Cologne Communion Service, the Comfortable Words came *before* the Absolution and consist of John iii, 35-36, Acts x, 43, as well as the three last sentences in our Prayer Book. Why did Cranmer put the Comfortable Words *after* and not before the Absolution, and why did he add Matt. xi, 28? Probably because that wonderful verse of our Saviour seemed to comprehend everything, and because the consolation of the Gospel words were intended to come as a confirmation of the gracious assurance of the Absolution. Acts x, 43, was admirable *before* the Absolution and would not have been out of place after. But for some reason he left it out, and John iii, 35-36, also. (Jacobs' "Lutheran Movement, pp. 224-227; Dowden, "Further Studies," p. 59.)

FOURTH, The fourth step is *Praise*. The pardoned
PRAISE. and uplifted soul is now prepared for the
great Eucharistic offering of praise and
thanksgiving. In the First Prayer Book the ethical
perception was faulty, because the *Sursum Corda*,
"Lift Up Your Hearts," came *before* the sin was con-
fessed and forgiven. But with a deeper spiritual insight
Cranmer saw that the praise should come *after* the
realization of pardon. And so all this part of the service
was arranged in strict accordance with a progressive
spiritual discernment. The *Sursum Corda* is probably
the most ancient formula in the Communion Service.
It seems to have been used as far back as the time of
Tertullian. It is found in Cyprian's Treatise on the
Lord's Prayer. It is quoted by Cyril. The next words
are, "Let us give thanks unto the Lord " and "It is
meet and right so to do," etc. Augustine says, with
regard to the giving of thanks unto the Lord, "It is
meet, because He made us by His will. It is just,
because He redeemed us by His mercy. It is right,
because He gratuitously justified us." It is wonderful
that through all the chances and changes of the historic
eras of the Church, these glorious words still survive as
the keynote of this section of the service, with their
inspiring sequel.

"Hearts up to heaven !"

"Up to the Lord we lift them !"

And most glorious of all, the congregation assembled
in the church on earth now unites with the church in
heaven, and rising into the heavenly places, in Christ
Jesus, associates itself with the angels and archangels
and all the company of heaven in a Magnificat of laud
and praise to God's glorious name, joining in the Angelic

Trisagion (Isa. vi, 3; Rev. iv, 8.) Churchmen may well thank God for the beauty and splendour of the *Ter Sanctus* in its present form. Not only are the cumbrous expressions of the Sarum-Roman Mass omitted, but one of the most significant phrases connected with the doctrine of transubstantiation, "Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord," was with purpose, left out.* The five Proper Prefaces that introduce the "Therefore with Angels and Archangels" are further indications of the independence and originality of our English Prayer Book. Two of them are practically new, two others are almost new, and all give an entirely new tone of clearness and beauty to the whole teaching of the Preface.

The fifth and last step in the preparation
FIFTH, for the reception of the elements is the
A profession of unworthiness. This prayer
PROFESSION. is peculiar to our Prayer Book. It has
no parallel in any primitive or medieval
service. It was most probably composed by Cranmer
himself. In the Scottish Liturgy it is called the
Prayer of Humble Access. In its original form it
represented the *semi*-enlightened mind of Cranmer, for
after the words "Drink His Blood," there followed
four words—"in these holy mysteries"—which un-
questionably pointed to the doctrine of the Real
Presence. It is a well known fact that Bishop Gardiner
said that, because this prayer in the 1549 Prayer Book
came *after* the Consecration Prayer, it was an act of

* The reader will remember that in the Roman Mass the bell is rung at the close of the *Ter Sanctus*—Holy, holy, holy—to call the attention of the people to the fact that the re-incarnation of the Lord through the act of transubstantiation is about to take place, and that they are about to adore the most awful and august presence of Jesus Christ under the sacramental veils.

adoration paid directly to the flesh of Christ then lying upon the altar. (Tomlinson's Prayer Book, Articles and Homilies, p. 32.) In the revision of 1552, therefore, Cranmer removed the words, "in these Holy mysteries," and changed the position of the Prayer, placing it *before* the Consecration. The Prayer, as a whole, has for its characteristic notes, humility and self-renunciation. It sounds a death knell to the spirit of Pharisaism. There is in it an absence of self-confidence and self-trust, that is the very spirit of Luke xviii, 13. It is an echo of Rom. x, 3, and Phil. iii, 9. In the spirit of the teaching of Articles XI and XIII, it abases the soul to the very dust, and compels every communicant at the moment of consecration to renounce absolutely, all trust in one's own righteousness. "We do not presume!" "We are not worthy!" "We do not trust in our own righteousness!"

The latter part of the prayer centres around the introductory word "so." There are two letters only, but of great suggestiveness. *So*-truly repentant; *So*-steadfastly strong in living faith; *So*-full of love; *So*-emptied of self; *So*-praising thee with the glory of the angels; *So* absolutely trusting in God's righteousness alone; *So* grant us, gracious Lord, to eat the flesh of Jesus and to drink His Blood.*

* For the meaning of "eat the flesh and drink the blood of Christ," the reader is referred to John vi., 51-53-57, and the explanatory words of the Lord Himself in verse 63, "The flesh profiteth nothing, the words that I speak unto you, they are to be understood in a spiritual not carnal sense, *spirit*, and they are life, and the explanation of the Church's teaching in the third paragraph of Article XXVIII., and the explicit teaching of Article XXIX. As to the idea of our bodies being cleansed by Christ's Body and our souls washed through Christ's Blood (see the very remarkable appendix to Dowden's *Further Studies in the Prayer Book*, pp. 317-343, a most scholarly and suggestive study. See also the *Tutorial Prayer Book*, pp. 332-333.)

As we approach the Consecration Prayer, THE we see that the reformers displayed CENTRE remarkable courage in meeting a serious PRAYER. difficulty. It was obvious that they could not retain the prayer of the Roman Canon. It was the very heart of the service. Yet how could they touch words which had for centuries been regarded with such awe. At no other point would associations, prejudices and superstitions be so vitally affected. If Cranmer and his fellow workers had not been rooted and grounded in the Word of God, and emboldened by the power of the Holy Ghost, they could hardly have dared to depart so absolutely from the inherited traditions of a thousand years.*

They wished to provide for the Church of England a Consecration Prayer which would embody three great essentials :

- (1) A statement of the truth of the atoning death of Jesus Christ as our Substitute and our Sacrifice.
- (2) A prayer that would embody the perfect truth of the reception of the elements and, at the same time, reject every possible phrase or sentence that would in any wise countenance the teaching of the objective presence of Christ in the consecrated elements, or in any way

* Cranmer's own words deserve the deepest study : " The very body of the tree, or rather the roots of the weeds, is the Popish doctrine of transubstantiation, of the Real Presence of Christ's flesh and blood in the Sacrament of the Altar (as they call it), and of the Sacrifice and Oblation of Christ made by the priest for the salvation of the quick and the dead." See Cranmer on the Lord's Supper, Park. Soc., p. 6. See also the splendid dissertation upon this in Dimock's *Doctrine of the English Church Concerning the Eucharistic Presence*, p. 441.

seem to imply the sacrificial character of altar worship.

- (3) A statement, in the most absolutely simple and spiritual form, of the original institution of the Lord's Supper by our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

The work was not performed in its completeness at one stroke. In their first reforming effort, in 1548, there seems to be no evidence of their even having attempted anything like the introduction of a new consecration prayer form. In 1549, the Consecration Prayer certainly retained some of the features of the Roman Mass ; and it added the invocation of the Holy Spirit upon the elements. *It was not until 1552*, that they divested this portion of the service of every possible element of sacerdotal or sacrificial meaning. The thing that they then had as the end in sight, was to bring clearly before the eye of faith the atoning death of Jesus Christ, and at the same time to dispose of the error that the sacrifice of the death of Jesus Christ was to be continually *re-offered* upon the so-called altars of an earthly church.

The opening part of the Consecration Prayer, therefore, sets forth the great truth of the *finished* work of our atoning Saviour. With a strong emphasis the great prayer teaches that the Sacrifice of Jesus Christ was made on Calvary. It flings back the thought across the chasm of nearly nineteen centuries. It teaches as the explicit doctrine of the Anglican Church, that there was only One Oblation ; and that, the Oblation of HIMSELF ; *once* offered—once only. And, further, that this ONE Oblation of Himself ONCE offered was full perfect, and *sufficient*. So perfect, so sufficient.

that no merit of saint or angel would ever be needed to supplement it. And, further, that it was so ample that it was sufficient for the sins of the whole world. (Heb. vii, 27 ; ix, 24-25 ; x, 10-12.) Nothing in the formulated language of theology more satisfactorily sets forth the New Testament doctrine of the propitiatory, substitutionary, and vicarious aspects of the *completed* work of our Saviour on the Cross. Compare also the Catechism answer, " For the continual *remembrance* of the sacrifice of the death of Christ " ; *not* for the continual *repetition* of that sacrifice, as the Church of Rome teaches. (Read the words, Heb. ix, 24-28. " For Christ is not entered into the holy places made with hands, which are the figures of the true ; but into heaven itself, now to appear in the presence of God for us : Nor yet that he should offer himself often, as the high priest entereth into the holy place every year with blood of others : For then must he often have suffered since the foundation of the world ; but now once in the end of the world hath he appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of Himself. And as it is appointed unto men once to die, but after this the judgment : So Christ was once offered to bear the sins of many ; and unto them that look for Him shall He appear the second time without sin unto Salvation.")

Not only is there a remarkable avoidance of the sacrificial character of the altar offering, as it is called, but in this Consecration Prayer, as we now have it, there is a remarkable avoidance of one of the root errors both of the Primitive Liturgies and of the Roman Mass ; an error that has its echo in the Lutheran Communion Service, and also in the Scottish Liturgy and the Communion Service of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States : that the Holy Spirit invoked by

the priest should *make* the elements Christ's Body and Blood, or else so bless and sanctify the bread and wine "that they may be unto us, or that they *may become* the Body and Blood of God's most dearly beloved Son." But in our Consecration Prayer, we have an entire change of thought; a change of teaching, by a change of wording. The prayer is now not for any blessing upon the creatures of *bread and wine*. There is no request that any change in any way whatsoever should come upon or over *them*. The prayer is now a prayer for the communicants, that *they* receiving God's creatures of bread and wine may be partakers of His most blessed Body and Blood,* that is, that they may receive by faith an interest in His Body and Blood, and personally experience by living faith the remission of sins and all other benefits of His atoning death. And so the very heart of the service is Christ Crucified; Christ Jesus Himself as the Lamb of God, the Sin-Bearer, the Sacrifice. It is wonderful how deeply the substitutionary and atoning work of Christ is inwrought into Christianity. It is the immovable centre; and in this wonderful prayer, the Church of England wonderfully sets forth what Dr. Forsyth has called "the centrality of the Cross." For, as often as we come to this part of the service, we do "shew forth His Death," at the Lord's Table in a perpetual memorial and communion, with the everlasting prospective onlook "till He come."

* The reader whose desires to have a full and fine explanation of the Saviour's words, "Except you eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink His blood, yet have no life in you" should read that most masterly summary of Bishop Ryle in his *Expository Thoughts on the Gospels* (John i., 402). His view is that by flesh and blood our Lord meant the Sacrifice of His own Body for us, and that by "eating and drinking" He meant that communion and participation of the benefit of His sacrifice which faith, and faith only, conveys to the soul.

And now come the Words of Adminis-
THE WORDS tration. Again the genius of the English
TO THE reformers is seen. When they came to
COMMUNI- the administration of the sacred elements
CANTS. to the communicants, they were like
men in an almost unexplored region.
There was nothing to guide them in the one Reformation
Mass Service. They must have been in a kind of dilemma
for it had been the habit for centuries to put the Wafer
on to the tongue of the communicant, never to deliver
it into the hand. As to the wine, there had never been
any to speak of, in the service the Cup never having been
given to the laity. Bishop Dowden has pointed out
that the mass services of medieval England contained
no words for communicating the laity, either at or after
Mass, and the only words that were ever used being found
in a form for the Communion of the Sick—the Viaticum,
as it was called, being given with the form "The Body
of our Lord Jesus Christ keep your body and soul to
life eternal." (Dowden, "Further Studies, pp. 235-319,
and Upton's "Outlines of Prayer Book History,"
pp. 98-100.)

It was a happy inspiration, when the first compilers
of our Prayer Book resolved to introduce a more Scriptural
feature in our Church system, that the communicant
kneeling to receive the Sacrament should hear in his
ears a few suggestive words that would bring home to
his heart the very essence of the Communion. Their
historical genesis is of great interest.

They were first used in the Order of the Communion,
1548, with these words: "When the priest doth deliver
the Sacrament of the Body of Christ, he shall say to
every one these words: The Body of our Lord Jesus

Christ, which was given *for* thee (note not *to* thee), preserve thy body unto everlasting life." and, when delivering the Sacrament of the Blood: "The Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was shed *for* thee, preserve *thy soul* unto everlasting life."

A year later, they conjoined the words in the delivery of both elements, "Preserve *thy body and soul* unto everlasting life." It was a happy innovation and undoubtedly the result of a quickened spiritual insight and a deeper study of the teaching of the New Testament (Upton's "Outlines of Prayer Book History," p. 102). In the year 1552, to bring home to each believing heart the personal appropriation of the death of Christ, they substituted the appealing and beautiful words, "Take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee, etc," and "Drink this in remembrance that Christ's Blood *was* shed for thee, etc." In 1559, both forms were combined so that we now have repeated at every administration throughout the year the words that have become endeared to every English Churchmen by a thousand sweet and tender associations.

Bishop Dowden raised the question, "Why were our reformers not content with the ancient formula and why did they insert the words, 'which was given for thee,' 'which was shed for thee'?" ("Further Studies," p. 235.) And he answered his question by showing that the words were used in the Lutheran formula and that they were considered of such vital importance, as to be principal parts of the Sacrament. The ministers were enjoined always to admonish the people with the greatest earnestness at every Communion to carefully ponder and lay to heart the words "which was given for you," "which was shed for you." And in Cranmer's Catechism of 1548, the same thing is

emphasised in a paragraph enlarging on the significance of the words, "given for *you*," "shed for *you*."

To the Communicants of the Church of England, they set forth the truth of the personal appropriation of the *benefits* of Christ's death by faith. They bring home the great teaching of our Church in Articles XXVIII and XXIX. They show that in the Sacrament we are to feed on Him (not on bread); in our heart (not in our mouth); by faith (not by mastication); with thanksgiving, in the Eucharist of the soul. (Heb. xiii, 15; Ephes. v, 20.)

Further, there is brought home to each heart, in the solemn moment of the reception of the Sacrament, the most profound of all Gospel truths—the great truth of the *finished* work of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ upon Calvary's Cross. For the words are not "The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ which *IS* given for thee," but "The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ which *WAS* given for thee." It is a very suggestive difference. If our reformers had inserted the phrase, "The Body which *IS* given for thee," or, "is being given," there would have been the danger of some, so *mis-taking* the phrase as to possibly construe it into meaning that it was a direct or indirect evidence of the fact that Christ's Body is given to God in sacrifice for us in the Communion. Cranmer had to face this and make his choice between, "*IS* given" and "*WAS* given." He made his choice deliberately. And so, in using the words, "The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ which *WAS* given for thee," "The Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ which *WAS* shed for thee," our reformers lifted into prominence the great truth of the redemption that was consummated *once for all*. (Heb. ix, 12-14-25-28; Heb. x, 1-2 and 10-14.) The

emphasis is not upon the presence of the *glorified* Body of our Saviour, which was never at any time given in sacrifice for us ; but upon that Body which WAS given for us in His death upon the Cross. As Bishop Moule has pointed out, in *English Church Teaching*, "The bread is the body regarded *as slain*. The wine is the blood regarded *as shed*. Literally, the body was given and blood shed eighteen centuries ago, once and forever. Literally, therefore, the body once given and the blood once shed, *cannot be going through this process now*. The Body and Blood of Christ in the Sacrament of our redemption by Christ's death mean Christ Crucified. The thought is not an infusion of the glorified humanity. It is of saving union and communion with the Lamb of the Sacrifice." In other words, the Church of England places between the two parts of the Words of Administration a chasm of about 1890 years ; the first part emphasises the finished redemption of that Day ; the second, brings home to the believer in this day his personal interest in that finished redemption. The Body which *was* given—there ; then, Take and eat this—here, now !

III.—THE POST COMMUNION.

The conclusion of the Service deserves a careful study. It consists of five sections :

- (1) The Lord's Prayer.
- (2) The first alternative prayer, sometimes called the Prayer of Oblation.
- (3) The second alternative prayer, sometimes called the Prayer of Eucharist.
- (4) The Gloria in Excelsis.
- (5) The Benediction.

This is in most remarkable contrast to the Roman Service. Before the Reformation, the Mass ended with a complex and curious series of chalice rinsings, hand washings, ablutions of the chalice and paten, bowings and crossings, and other ceremonies. But the English Reformers, heart-sick possibly, with the irritating dark and dumb ceremonies, or following the concluding of some Primitive Liturgies, in the pioneer order of 1548, simply ended the service with this blessing :

“ The peace of God, which passeth all understanding, keep your hearts and minds, in the knowledge and love of God, and of His Son, Jesus Christ our Lord.”

A year later, was provided a Post-Communion series of texts of Scripture, twenty-two in number, and most beautiful in suggestion. It is not easy to understand why Cranmer struck them out in 1552. But, he did. And he put in their place the Lord's Prayer, and the two prayers that we now have, and, as the climax of all, the Gloria in Excelsis.

The Lord's Prayer forms a noble opening to the finale of the Communion Office. But the subsequent prayer may be taken as an index of their intense desire to follow the guidance of the Holy Spirit, for it marks one of the most revolutionary features of the revision work of the 1552 revisers. In 1549, this prayer was intended to be a Prayer of Sacramental Oblation. It brought out, by its position and language, the idea of the pleading of the eucharistic sacrifice before God. But, by taking it away from the Prayer of Consecration, and inserting it in the Prayer Book after the Communion was over, our Prayer Book compilers intentionally removed any possibility of the sacrifice of praise and

thanksgiving being connected with the offering of the elements of bread and wine. By making it an optional and not an obligatory prayer, they absolutely destroyed its value from the standpoint of Roman Catholic teaching. But they brought out more clearly the Scriptural thought of the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving (Heb. xiii, 15), and the solemn dedication of *ourselves* as a living sacrifice (Rom. xii, 1). The humble and lowly petition with which it concludes is one of the sweetest and most solemn in the Prayer Book, "We be unworthy through our manifold sins to offer unto thee any sacrifice"*

The second alternative prayer is also
THE without any parallel in the Roman Mass
ALTERNATIVE Service and illustrates the development
PRAYER. of Cranmer's mind. In 1549, it contained
the words, "Thou hast vouchsafed to
feed us *in* these holy mysteries." But in 1552, by a
deliberate change, slight but revealing, they avoided
any possibility of the teaching of the Real Presence by
the present wording of the Prayer. Cranmer's broad
and catholic spirit is reflected in the now famous defini-
tion of the Mystical Body of Christ as "The blessed
company of all faithful people," and the latter part of
the prayer reveals the spirit of the Epistle to the
Ephesians (Eph. ii, 13) in the beautiful wording of a

* The spiritual illumination of Cranmer, and the teaching of the Church of England, are well brought out by his distinction between Christ's sacrifice of Himself *for* us, and our sacrifice of ourselves *to* God by him. "Another kind of sacrifice there is which doth not reconcile us to God, but is made of (that is, by) them that he reconciled to God—sacrifices of laud, praise, and thanksgiving—ourselves and all that we had." (Cranmer on the Lord's Supper, Park. Soc., p. 346.) These words throw a great light upon the distinctive teaching of the Church of England in regard to sacrifice-offering.

prayer that is at once spiritual and practical and aptly comprehensive.

A The Gloria in Excelsis. For many
CLOSING centuries this glorious hymn, originally
HYMN. called the Dawn Hymn or the Seraphic
 Hymn or the Hymn of the Angels (for it
 contained in its original form little more
than the simple words of Luke ii, 14), was used in the
service of the Mass. It was sung in Latin just before the
Nicene Creed. In the First Prayer Book, 1549, it was
placed in the forefront of the service, after the opening
prayer, "Almighty God, unto whom all hearts are open."
Why, then, was it transferred by one stroke of the pen,
as it were, from the very beginning to the very end of
the Communion Service? The most natural supposition
is that, as they read the words of the Gospel, they were
struck with the concluding text: "And, when they
had sung an hymn, they went out" (Matt. xxvi, 30;
Mark xiv, 26), and that they evidently desired to finish
our service just as our Lord and His disciples finished
their Communion Service. Anyway, there it stands
in imitation of our Lord and Saviour, the eucharistic
closing hymn.

It consists of three great sections and, like the Te Deum,
is a hymn of praise, a profession of faith, and a litany
of supplication, all in one. Beginning with an almost
exuberant tone of praise, it passes at once into a strain
of tender and wistful pleading for pity, combined with
a glorious exaltation of the Lord Jesus Christ in the
glory of His Deity and the beauty of His Humanity.
He is hailed as the Only Begotten; the Lord God;
the Lamb of God; the Son of the Father; the Remover
of the world's sin; the Sister at the right hand of God;

Mounting, as it were, from height to height, it reaches its marvellous climax in the solemn cadence of the thrice-repeated, all-excluding words: "Thou only! Thou only! Thou only!"

And so the Anglican Communion Service concludes. The soul lies low, self-emptied; shrunk into nothingness before the glory of God. The two finest notes of the Anglican liturgical system come out, at the end of the service, into fine relief: the sense of humiliation and unworthiness on the part of man, and the giving all the glory to God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost. And then, not with the curt dismissal of the Church of Rome, but with the great Benediction, the communicants depart. As they pass out into daily life with their souls strengthened and refreshed the last words that linger in their ears are those of the peace of God which passes all understanding, and guards, as a sentinel, the heart and mind in the knowledge and love of God, and of the blessing of the Triune God ever abiding with each. (Phil. iv, 7.)

A FINAL WORD. Once more the Church of England is at a parting of the ways. It almost looks as if, in England anyway, the war of the Reformation has to be fought over again. Once more the centre of the battle is the Communion Service. Once more, the roots of the Romish Real Presence doctrines are growing in the Lord's vineyard, and overspreading the ground with the old errors and superstitions. (Cranmer on "Lord's Supper." Park. Soc., Preface 6.)

In the reign of Edward, the reaction was from the Mass, and for the recovery of the Lord's Supper. To-day, in the Anglican Church, the reaction is from the Lord's

Supper for the recovery of the Mass. The reaction of to-day is an almost exact repetition and a reproduction of the successive steps in the movement of the first three centuries of the Sub-Apostolic age, and of the retrograde movement of the first century in the Church of England after the Reformation. The lines of primitive departure from the simplicity of the Lord's Supper find an exact historic parallel in the departures of the Caroline Catholic Anglicans, the Non-Jurors and Scottish Episcopal Laudians, and the Anglo-Catholics from Pusey's day to ours. These lines, in a word, were as follows :

1st.—An over-valuation of the Supper ; a tendency to exaggerate its importance as a service ; and to give to it a place that is certainly not assigned to it in the teaching of the Apostles. It is significant that the communion is mentioned in only five Books of the New Testament. In twenty-two of the Books there is no reference to it. In only one of the Epistles of St. Paul is it referred to, and in the writings of St. Peter, St. John, St. Jude and St. James it is not once mentioned. The silence of the Pastoral Epistles is of extraordinary significance. These letters to two Bishops haven't a suggestion with regard to its observance. much less to its ritual.

2nd.—To make it the highest act of Christian worship, to the exclusion of Morning and Evening Prayer, and to put into the background, if not to disregard, the reading of the Word and the preaching of the Gospel. (See " A Sacrament of Our Redemption," pp. 106-111.) In the Primitive Church, this tendency led, with awful rapidity, to the establish-



ment of the Mass Service of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, with its accompaniment of false and misleading teachings. The propaganda that is being carried on to-day for the restoration of the Altar and the re-establishment of the Mass in the Church of England, as the sun and centre of Anglican worship, is ecclesiastical history repeating itself, with its fearful errors and soul-destroying dangers.

3rd.—To administer it with an excess of ceremonial, multiplying the accessories of ritual, pageantry and regarding the service more and more with mysterious and obsequious veneration. (It is almost like the *epithumia tōn opthalmōn* of I. John, ii, 16.)

4th.—To see in the bread and wine after consecration, the mystic Body and Blood of Christ, through a process of consubstantiation or insubstantiation or transubstantiation. And, in consequence.

5th.—To *re*-plead the once-for-all offered sacrifice, and then to *re*-present it, and then, as a logical consequence, doctrinal and ritual, to *re*-offer it.

If Churchmen will only hold fast to their Prayer Book and take it as it stands in its true and usual and literal meaning, we shall be preserved from those curious and unhappy differences which have for so many centuries vexed the Church of Christ, and come, as Archbishop Sancroft pleaded, into closer union with our separated brethren, the Protestant dissenters. The writer is persuaded that nothing so tends to separate us from them as the sacerdotal and sacrificial errors with regard to the Lord's Supper, for, as Bishop Wordsworth said, "unity in error is not true unity." If, with opened eyes,

we stand upon the Bible, we will never either under-value or over-value the Holy Communion. Side by side with our great Bishop-reformers, with simple faith in the Bible and strong confidence in the Prayer Book, we will, as loyal Churchmen, avoid the term "Altar," abhor the term "Mass," and beware of the term "Eucharistic Sacrifice." As well call the Waterloo banquet, as one has said, a repetition of the Battle of Waterloo, as call the Holy Communion a repetition of Christ's sacrifice on Calvary's Cross. We will pray with Cranmer and his colleagues for opened eyes and growing perceptions of truth and error, and with stern resolves abandon all that would tend to falsify, and hold fast all that is spiritually true. To lay stress upon spiritual qualification ; to plead for living faith ; to demand supremely, heart love and genuine, sincere and absolute personal consecration ; this is the duty of the hour for the clergy. To see in the service an exhibition of the saving truth of the Gospel, the power of the precious blood, and the vicarious propitiation of our Crucified Lord for the sins of the whole world ; to realize what is, alas, so often obscured in the Communion Service of the Anglican Church, our unity and our union with our fellow communicants ; to search the heart, and come with living faith and loving heart ; this is the duty of the laity. Then we may truly feel that in our beautiful service, every promise of the Lord, every intention of His Word, every blessing of His presence, will surely be fulfilled to all, both clergy and laity, who, coming humbly, truly, earnestly, meekly, receive the elements, with simple and sincere faith. And so coming and so receiving, the faithful communicant can depart saying, "O, my God, thou art true. O, my soul, thou art happy."

BY THE SAME AUTHOR.

“THE PROTESTANTISM OF THE PRAYER BOOK.”

New Impression. 1/- net.

“This volume is a brief but exhaustive account of the true principles on which the English Book of Common Prayer was finally compiled, when the Reformation of our Church was completed, and the Second Book of King Edward substituted for the First Book. Those principles were carefully retained in the Prayer Book of Queen Elizabeth's reign and were finally preserved unaltered in the last revision of 1661. Even at that date, immediately after the unhappy Savoy Conference, Archbishop Sheldon and his assistant revisers did not attempt to bring back into our Liturgy the questionable things which found a place in King Edward's First Prayer Book, and were purposely cast out from King Edward's Second Book. The true principles of the English Prayer Book, whatever some interpreters may please to say, are Protestant and Evangelical, and of this abundant evidence is supplied in this volume.” (*Note from Preface.*)

THE CHURCH BOOK ROOM.

82, VICTORIA STREET,

:: LONDON, S.W. 1. ::



